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**A N N A L S**

**OF THE**

**COINAGE OF BRITAIN**

**AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,**

**FROM THE**

**EARLIEST PERIOD OF AUTHENTICK HISTORY**

**TO THE END OF THE**

**FIFTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HIS PRESENT**

**MAJESTY KING GEORGE III.**

**Printed by Nichols, Son, and Bentley,  
Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, London.**

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FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HIS PRESENT  
MAJESTY KING GEORGE III.

BY THE  
**REV. ROGERS RUDING, B. D.**

VICAR OF MALDON IN SURREY,  
F. S. A. AND H. M. A. S. OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

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*It is time to give off Coining if the Value of Standard  
Silver be lessened by it. LOCKE.*

---

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED, ENLARGED, AND  
CONTINUED TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1818.  
IN FIVE VOLUMES, AND A SEPARATE VOLUME OF PLATES.

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**VOL. III.**

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1819.



# ANNALS OF THE COINAGE OF BRITAIN.

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MARY,

**O**N her accession to the throne, in 1558, found the Coinage nearly reduced to a perfect standard, by the wise determinations and unwearied exertions of the late King.

The popularity which these exertions had obtained for him she appears to have been willing to share, without foregoing, at the same time, the advantages arising from the debasing of the Coins. Accordingly, soon after her entry into London, on the 3d of August, she issued a Proclamation, from the words of which it might be concluded that she was resolved to bring the Silver to the old sterling, whilst, in fact, as will appear from an Indenture of this year, it was her determination to debase it.

This Proclamation is curious, on account of its disagreement with the Indenture; I shall therefore give its preamble somewhat at length. It begins with stating, that the Queen, of her great and abundant clemency, calling to her gracious remembrance what great and intolerable charges have come and chanced most especially unto her Highness, and also to her loving subjects, as well by reason of these base Monies of late made within her realm,

as also by great quantities of the like base Monies made and counterfeit in other realms, and issued within this her Grace's realm. For the tender zeal her Grace beareth to her loving subjects, in no wise can longer suffer the same inconveniency, *but is fully resolved and determined*, with all convenient speed, to cause to be made and set forth certain Coins, as well of Gold as Silver, *of the perfect fineness*, according to the rates hereafter ensuing. Which shall redound much to her Highness's honour, and to the great wealth, commodity, and profit of her loving subjects.

Wherefore her Majesty hath ordered, and established to be made within her Mints, these several Coins, as well of SILVER IN FINENESS OF THE STANDARD STERLING, as also of Gold, as hereafter ensueth; that is to say, the whole Sovereign, which shall be current within all her realms and dominions for thirty shillings of the lawful Money of England. The Half-Sovereign, to be called the Royal of Gold, and current at fifteen Shillings. The Angel, to be current at ten Shillings, and the Half-Angel at five. ~~All these of fine Gold.~~ Of Silver, the Groat, to be current for four Pence, the half-Groat for two Pence, and the Penny for one. All which Coins all persons within her dominions, (the realm of Ireland only excepted, for as much as her Highness's Coins have there a special standard,) are commanded to receive at the rates aforesaid, upon pain of her Highness's displeasure, and to be further punished as shall seem to her Grace most convenient.

All base Monies which have been reduced to the value of a lower rate, to be current as they are at this day, and as they are declared in the Proclama-

tion last made, in the time of King Edward VI. in that behalf, until such time as her Highness, with the advice of her Council, shall take further order touching the same. Given at our Manor of Richmond, on the 20th day of August, in the first year of our *most prosperous reign*.\*

This Proclamation is directly contradicted by the provisions in the Indenture respecting the Silver, which was appointed to be no more than eleven ounces fine; that is, one pennyweight worse than by the Indenture of the 6th of Edward VI. instead of being restored to the old standard of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine. One pound of this Silver was to be coined into three pounds by tale; and a pound of Gold of the old standard into thirty-six pounds by tale, as in the last Indenture of the 6th of Edward VI.<sup>b</sup>

According to the special standard for the Coins of Ireland, which is mentioned in the Proclamation

\* Her Majesty had now reigned no more than forty-five days, reckoning from the death of King Edward; and not more than a month, from the overthrow of that party which espoused the interests of the unfortunate Jane Grey. Too short a period to justify the use of so strong an epithet.

<sup>b</sup> Lowndes, pp. 24 and 49. Leake and Bolkes date this Proclamation upon the 4th of September, but erroneously. I believe that they copied Stow. According to Leake this Indenture bore the same date as the Proclamation, i. e. the 20th of August, and was made with Thomas Egerton, Thomas Stanley, and others, who covenanted to make of Gold of the old standard, Sovereigns twenty-four to the Pound, at thirty Shillings each; Rials forty-eight, at fifteen Shillings; Angels seventy-two, at ten Shillings; and Angelets at five Shillings; and of Silver, eleven ounces fine, Groats a hundred and eighty to the Pound, Half Groats and Pennies. [Historical Account of English Money, 1834, quoting Lowndes, pp. 24. 49. and Old Mint Books.]

above, the Queen ordered, this year, Shillings, Greats, Two-penny pieces, and probably Pennies, to be struck for that kingdom, but of as coarse and base a metal as any made use of in the two last reigns. Forty of these Shillings, I suppose, went to the pound troy, and weighed each one hundred and forty-four grains, the Greats forty-eight grains, at the rate of one hundred and twenty to the pound, and the Twopenny Pieces twenty-four grains, at the rate of two hundred and forty pieces to the pound<sup>c</sup>.

In the first Session of the Parliament which met on the 15th of October, in this year, an Act was passed, by which all Treasons were limited to the Statute of the 25th of Edward III.<sup>d</sup> As this Act repealed, amongst others, the 3d Henry VI chap. 6, which made it treason to clip, wash, or file Money, those practices increased so much in the following reign, that it was found necessary again to declare them to be treasons.

By a Statute which was enacted in the second session of the same Parliament, it was made treason to falsely forge or counterfeit any Coins of Gold or Silver which were not the proper Coins of the realm, but which were or should be current within the same by the consent of the Queen, her heirs and successors. The reason for this was assigned in the preamble, where it was stated that, forasmuch as by the laws of the realm, small, and no due and con-

<sup>c</sup> Simon, p. 35. Contrary to his usual practice, this very respectable author has given no authority for the above proportions. He could not, surely, intend that they should rest upon his supposition only.

<sup>d</sup> Statute 1 Mary, session 1, chap. 1.

<sup>e</sup> By Statute 5 Eliz. chap. 11.



dign punishment was at that time provided for the offence, therefore evil disposed persons were encouraged and boldened daily to perpetrate and commit it<sup>1</sup>.

1553-4. By a Proclamation dated on the 4th of March in her first year, the French Crowns of the Sun, being of just standard, fineness, and weight, were commanded to be current at the value of six Shillings and four Pence, to which they were reduced by a Proclamation in the late King's reign<sup>2</sup>, on pain of imprisonment, and further punishment at her Highness's pleasure<sup>3</sup>. And, on the 8th of the same month, the following Coins were ordered to be taken at these rates, viz:

1. The French Crown of the Sun at six Shillings and four Pence of current Money of the realm.

2. The Crown of the Emperor's Coin at the same.

3. The Double Ducat of Spain with two faces at thirteen Shillings and four Pence.

4. The Single Ditto at six Shillings and eight Pence.

5. The Double Royal of Plate Silver, of Spanish Coin, at thirteen Pence.

6. The Royal of Plate at Sixpence Halfpenny.

7. The Half in proportion.

8. All these being of just standard, weight, and fineness, to be paid and received as above, on penalty of imprisonment, and further punishment at her Highness's pleasure<sup>4</sup>.

1554. Another Proclamation, of the 4th of May

<sup>1</sup> Statute 1 Mary, session 2, chap 6.  
<sup>2</sup> On the 1st of December, 1549.

<sup>3</sup> MS. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>4</sup> In the same collection as the preceding, it was not printed until the 4th of May.

May, appointed the rates at which the following Coins of Portugal should be current, they being of just weight and fineness, according to the standard of the same, *viz.*

The Single Crusade, with the long cross, at six Shillings and eight Pence.

The Pistolett at six Shillings and two Pence.

The Single Crusade, with the short cross, at six Shillings and eight Pence.

To be received on the same penalty as above<sup>k</sup>.

On the 25th of July the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain took place. He brought with him a vast mass of wealth; seven and twenty chests of Bullion, every chest being a yard and some inches long, which were drawn in twenty carts to the Tower; after which came ninety-nine horses, and two carts, loaded with coined Gold and Silver<sup>l</sup>.

Immediately after his marriage he was complimented with the title of King, and his name was joined with the Queen's upon the Coins; some of which have her head only, and were probably struck before a new die could be prepared; whilst others, which are imprinted with the date of this year 1554, have the portraits of both the King and

<sup>k</sup> MS. in the same collection. It is without date, but a printed copy of it is dated by the printer on May 4th, 1554.

<sup>l</sup> Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. II. p. 266. Burnet conjectures that this great wealth was to be distributed, according to the promises made by Philip's Ambassador, amongst the English who had promoted his marriage. The author of the Church History of England says, "Collier reports from Stow, that the King imported a vast mass of treasure in twenty carts, each of them laden with twenty-seven chests of Silver Bullion, each chest being a yard and four inches long." [Vol. I. p. 459.]

the Queen, either vis à vis on the Obverse, or singly on different sides of the piece.

In this year, according to Lowndes, was an Indenture, by which both the Gold and Silver were to be coined of the old standard<sup>m</sup>.

If by this statement be meant a general Coinage of all the pieces, then Mary ought to have been complimented as the restorer of the purity of the Coins, rather than her sister Elizabeth; but it should seem that only some particular Coins were of this fineness, such as the Shilling, Sixpence, and Groat<sup>n</sup>. It was probably by virtue of this Indenture that these pieces were struck which are impressed with the heads of both the King and Queen, and it may reasonably be conjectured that the Bullion then used was that which Philip brought over with him<sup>o</sup>. No Indenture for the Coinage of these pieces has ever been discovered, nor any Commission under which they could have been struck; and it is remarkable that Stow, though otherwise so exact in his account of the Coins of this time, takes nevertheless no notice of these, which he must have remembered the first Coinage of, and which must have been very plentiful when he wrote, as so many of them are still remaining at this day.

<sup>m</sup> Lowndes, p. 24.

<sup>n</sup> See Lansdowne MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 745. That MS. does not give any Indenture of the reign of Mary, or of Philip and Mary, but at the end of the last Indenture of Edward VI. in his 6th year, it has this note: "The Moneys both of Gold and Silver continewed at this rate all the time of Kinge Phillipe and Queene Mary, in which time there was coyned Angells, half Angells, and quarter Angells of twentie-three carrettes three graynes and half of fine Gold, and likewise Angells of twentie-three carretts of fine Gold, and Tweluepences, Sixpences, and Groats of xi oz. ij. dwt. of fine Silver.

<sup>o</sup> Folkes, p. 47.

In the Parliament which assembled at Westminster, on the 15th of November in this year, it was enacted, that, after the 20th of January following, it should be high treason to bring into the realm, from abroad, forged and counterfeit Money like to the Coin of foreign realms, which were not the proper Coin of the realm; but by the sufferance of the King and Queen were allowed to be current in payment within the realm, the same being known to be forged and counterfeit, and brought in with intent to utter it. And also that all persons who should, after the time above mentioned, be accused or impeached of any of the offences provided for in that Statute, or of any other offence concerning the impairing, counterfeiting, or forging any Coin current within the realm, should and might be indicted, arraigned, tried, convicted, or attainted, by such like evidence, and in such manner and form, as had been used and accustomed within the realm, at any time before the first year of the reign of the late King.

According to Leake, who seems to quote the old Mint Books as his authority, there was a Commission granted, on the 6th of December following her marriage, to Thomas Egerton, Thomas Stanley, and others, to make Shillings, Half and Quarter Shillings, and Halfpennies, under the Covenants of the 20th of August in the Queen's first year. They had

The same reasons are here alleged as were used in the Statute of the 1st of Mary, session 2, chap. 6, when the crime of falsifying those Coins was first made treason.

a Statute, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, chap. 11. This Statute is supposed by the editor of the Statutes at large [Runnington] to refer to the Statute of York, 9 E. III. stat. 2. chap. 2.

likewise authority to make of base Monies, to be brought in by the Prince, two manner of Monies, of the standard of three ounces fine and nine alloy, viz. Rose-Pence, four hundred and eighty to the pound, and Halfpences, the pound weight to make forty Shillings in current Money.

On the 26th of the same month, a Proclamation was set forth, by the King and Queen, the preamble to which recited that of the 20th of August in the first year of the Queen, and then proceeded to declare that their Majesties were resolved to continue, the said fine Monies, and therefore had caused to be made and set forth within their Mints certain pieces of Coins of Monies of Gold and Silver of the fine standard, with such stamp and print (devised by their Graces' appointment), as was most meet and convenient for the same, and most redounding to their Graces' honours, after the following rates and values, which are the same as in the Proclamation of the 20th of August before-mentioned. All these are said to be of fine Gold, and of fine Silver.

Leake, p. 224. Folkes says, that he had not met with the Indenture by which this base Money was coined, but by a Memorandum which he had seen of the then Officers of the Mint, Thomas Stanley and William Knight, it appeared that, in the first and second of Philip and Mary, there was made into Money of Rose Pence, of the standard of three ounces fine Silver to the pound, 6510 pound weight, at forty Shillings the pound weight; as by Indenture in March 1st and 2d regum dict. Hence, says he, it follows, that the Pennies of this sort weighed 12 grains each; but I should suppose the word Pence in the Memorandum to be indiscriminately used for either Pennies, Halfpennies, or Farthings. [Table of English Silver Coins, p. 48, note \*.]

The Silver could be called fine only with reference to, and by comparison with, the base Coins which were then current, for it was two pennyweights under the old standard.

They were commanded to be taken by all persons at the above value, under pain of their Highnesses' displeasure, and to be further punished as to their Graces should seem most convenient.

The base Monies were to be current according to the provisions in the aforesaid Proclamation of the 20th of August in the first year of the Queen.

In the second year of the King and Queen, Sir Edmund Peckham, Knt. Treasurer of the Mint of England, Thomas Stanley, Comptroller, and William Knight, Assay Master, for any two of them, were empowered to make for Ireland, out of ten thousand pounds worth of base Monies, brought into England by King Philip, Shillings, at twelve Pence Irish, forty of them, or one hundred and twenty Groats, to the pound, and at the rate of three ounces fine and nine ounces alloy; according to which, the Shilling weighed one hundred and forty-four grains, or six pennyweights.

1555 On the 20th of May a Proclamation was issued for putting in execution the Laws against the counterfeiting of the Coins.

At the latter end of the month of October following, the Emperor Charles resigned the Kingdom of Spain to his son Philip, which, according to Leake, occasioned the omission of the words Princeps Hispanie on the Money that was coined in this year. He is however mistaken, for there are Coins with the date of 1554 whereon that title does not appear.

t Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries:

u Simon, page 35.

x Proclamation in Antiquary Society's Library: y P. 227.

In November Thomas Egerton, Thomas Stanley, and others, were authorized to make seven thousand Pounds of Pence according to the standard appointed in the commission granted on the 6th of December in the first and second years of the King and Queen<sup>a</sup>.

1556. By a Proclamation of this year the Merchants Adventurers were permitted to carry Money out of the Kingdom for their expenses. Its purport was the same as that of the 28th of June 1553, the 7th of Edward VI.<sup>a</sup>

Another Proclamation was issued, upon the 3d of April, to prevent the forging of the Money, and bringing of counterfeit Coins into the realm, which had been done to a great extent. In order to this, all persons were warned and admonished not to receive, after the Proclamation, any of the Gold Coins of the realm, or any other Coins of Gold being current within the same, without first trying them by weight, or knowing by other means the goodness thereof, so that none of them might be deceived in receiving of the same. And if upon such trial they should find them to be forged or counterfeit, that they should then immediately deface, or cause to be defaced, and break, or cause to be broken, in pieces, every such counterfeit Coin or Coins, and the same, so defaced and broken, with all consequent

<sup>a</sup> Leake, p. 225, quoting old Mint Books. At the latter end of this year Robert Farrer was examined before the Bishop of Winchester [Lord Chancellor] on divers articles, some of which were to the last degree frivolous, such as this, wishing that at the alteration of the Coin, whatever metal it was made of, the Penny should be in weight worth a Penny of the same metal. [Watson's Hist. of Halifax, p. 469.] Farrer was burnt at Caermarthen on the 30th of March, 1555.

<sup>a</sup> MS. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.



ent speed, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to the next justice of the peace of the county wherein they should inhabit. And that the said justices of the peace should deliver the same to the Justices of Assize, to be by them brought up and delivered to the Lords and others of their Majesties Privy Council, attendant upon their most royal persons<sup>b</sup>.

It is somewhat remarkable that no punishment is here denounced against the counterfeiters of the Coins, but they are left to former Proclamations and Statutes; although in the preamble of this it is expressly said to be intended to put such persons in fear.

As it appeared that divers persons, as well natives as strangers, had not only melted the Coins of the realm, but had bought and sold the same at higher prices than they were rated by law, whereby great quantities were transported out of the realm; these practices were forbidden by Proclamation, upon the 27th of April, on pain of their Highnesses displeasure and forfeiture of the same Money and Coin, as well by the melter as by the buyer and seller, together with imprisonment and such other penalties and forfeitures as in such cases had been provided by the laws of the realm. And to encourage all persons to search and find out any of the offences aforesaid, those who should find out and disclose them were to have the whole of the penalty and forfeiture. It was, however, declared to be lawful for any person to sell the Coins of the realm, or any other Coins, to their Majesties Mints, at such prices as their Majesties did give there, and the Officers of



the Mints were authorized to buy the same, for the purpose of melting and coining them to their Highnesses use. All Justices, &c. were required to put the Proclamation, as well as the Statutes against buying, selling, and melting the Coins, into execution.

Rose Pence, which had been coined in England and sent into Ireland, for the service and use of that kingdom, but which had been returned and received in England, and uttered as the lawful current Money, were by Proclamation, on the 16th of September, forbidden, to be received as lawful Money, from that date, in any part of the King and Queen's Dominions except Ireland, where, as it was originally intended, they were still to be current<sup>d</sup>.

In addition to the ten thousand Pounds of base Monies which were struck for Ireland by virtue of a Commission granted to Sir Edmund Peckham, Knt. and others, in the year 1554, seven thousand Pounds more of the like base standard were coined into

<sup>c</sup> Proclamation in Antiquary Society's Collection.  
<sup>d</sup> *Id. ibid.* Simon dates this Proclamation in the year 1557, but erroneously, as Sept. 16, 3 and 4 of Philip and Mary must be in the year 1556, as their 3d and 4th year ended in July 1557. This seems to have reduced them to half their current value in England, according to the following entry: "Lost by the fall of Rose Pence twenty-five Shillings six Pence but of fifty-one Shillings." [Jacob's Hist of Devonshire, p. 103.] This Proclamation, it appears, occasioned an alarm and suspicion that the fall of other Coins would follow, as is evident from this entry in the Books of Privy Council:

"At St. James the xxviii day of October, an. 1556. A Letter to the Bishoppe of Duresme of thanks for his diligence in setting forth of the Proclamacion touching the aduancement of the Rose Pence, and his addicion to the same, assuringe him nothinge is intended touching the falle of any other Coyne."

Shillings and Groats under a second Commission, in 1555, to the same persons; and, in either this year or the following one, 1556 or 1557, a third Commission was granted for coining five thousand five hundred Pounds more of the same kind, into Harp Groats, for the use of Ireland; so that, in less than three years time, there were coined of these base Monies to the value of twenty-two thousand five hundred Pounds, besides what was struck in the first year of the reign of the Queen, before her marriage.

About this time some evil-disposed persons had spread rumours that the Testons would be decried, in consequence of which, much contention had arisen amongst the people, and the prices of grain, &c. had been enhanced. It was therefore commanded by Proclamation, on the 22d of December, 1556, that all persons should quietly and obediently receive and pay as well the Testons as all other Coins, according to the rate heretofore proclaimed by their Majesties' authority, upon pain of their Majesties' utter indignation and most sharp punishment, by imprisonment and fine, at their Majesties' pleasure.

It may however, be justly questioned whether this increase of prices was wholly occasioned by the above-mentioned rumour, as the Proclamation stated this to have been a time of dearth, wherewith it pleased Almighty God to plague the world, and therefore expressed their Majesties' sorrow that any man, to whom God had given abundance of things, should, in that unmerciful sort, seek upon such

\* See, page 36, a notice of the original of the above.

† Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

pretence his own gains, with so great an injury and oppression of his poor needy neighbours.

1557 or 1558. In the fourth and fifth year a Bill, touching search for Gold and Silver in the Crayes and ships within the realm, was read once in the Commons, but was proceeded in no further.

It was the wish of Mary to exclude her sister Elizabeth, whom she hated, from the throne, but she found that it was not in her power to alter the Succession without the consent of Parliament, which she was unable to obtain; and the Crown descended at her death (which happened upon the 17th of November 1558) according to the last will of King Henry the Eighth, who settled it upon his daughters in case of the decease of his son Prince Edward without issue. The settlement which Edward the Sixth had made, to the exclusion of his sisters, had already been set aside by the accession of Mary.

Before her marriage the Queen's title upon her Coins was, MARIA DE GRATIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA. The first Money which was struck after that event had her bust only, probably because time was wanting for the cutting of a new die, which was, however, soon effected, for these gold Coins of the first year of Philip with the heads of both the King and Queen. These with her bust read PHILIP ET MARIA DE GRATIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINAE. The earlier, with the two busts, have PHILIP ET MARIA DE GRATIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE PRINCEPS HISPANIE, the later omit the titles of

A vessel of lading or burden, a hoy or smack. Cowel. In Carpentier's Supplement to Du Cange it is said to be Navis piratica. And in Glossaire de la Langue Romane, Vaisseau de guerre.

Commons Journals, vol. I. p. 54. I am not certain.

Naples and Spain, and some that of France also. The shield on the Reverse has, on the large pieces, the arms of Spain impaled with England; the Penny has those of the latter kingdom alone, as have also all the Gold Coins. That with the bust on different sides of the Coin has on the Obverse *PHILIPPVS. D. GR. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP.*; and on the Reverse, *MARIA. D. GR. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP.*

The name of the Mint is to be found only upon the Pennies. Her title on the Gold Coins which were struck before her marriage have the same inscription as the Silver Money of the like date; but after her union with Philip they bear simply *PHILIP ET MARIA DEI GRATIA REX ET REGINA*. There is no representation of either the King or Queen upon the Gold Coins after her marriage.

The mottos upon her Silver Coins are, before her marriage, *VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA*; Afterward, *POSVIMVS DEVM ADIUTOREM NOSTRVM*.

On her Gold Money, both before and after her marriage, we find, *A. DOMINO FACTVM, EST. ISTVD, ET EST MIRABILE IN OCVLIS NOSTRIS*.

Her style upon her Irish Money is the same as that upon her English Silver. After her marriage the inscription is, *PHILIP ET MARIA REX ET REGINA ANGLIE*. The type of these Coins differs from that of Henry the Eighth's Harp Money only in being stamped with the Queen's bust, or with those of the King and Queen, instead of the arms of England, on the Obverse. No place of Mintage appears upon them.

Before her marriage, the style upon her Great Seal was the same as that which appeared upon her father's and brother's, with her motto, *VERITAS*

TEMPORIS FILIA; but after her marriage with Philip it ran thus: on the Obverse, PHILIP . ET . MARIA . D . G . REX . ET . REGINA . ANGL . HISPANIAR . FRANC . VTRIVSQ . SICILIE . IERUSALEM . ET . HIB . FIDEI . DEFENSOR . On the Reverse, ARCHIDUCES . AVSTRIE . DUCES . BURGUNDIE . MEDIOLANI . ET . BRABANCIE . COMITES . FLEBRICI . FLANDRIE . ET . TIROLIS .

It is not known that any other Mints were worked during this reign but those in the cities of DUBLIN and LONDON.

Camden, speaking of English Gold Coins, mentions "the Crown of Philip and Mary," inscribed *ANNO SALVS VNICA*. Mr. Leake found a representation of a Coin with this motto in a Dutch Placard, printed at Antwerp, 1633, in folio, where it is called a Crown of England. By which it should appear that there were such Coins current in the Low Countries. It has on one side the arms of Philip and Mary impaled under a Crown, with PHI . REX ANG . ETC. The device on the other side is like what is seen upon some of the larger Rials of Charles V. Around it is the motto given above. The name of Mary does not appear. Mr. Leake thinks, from the title of England only being used, that it was coined by Philip in the Low Countries, soon after his marriage, before he was King of Spain. I have copied his engraving of this piece.

Remains On Mintyic *Leake, p. 299.*

## ELIZABETH

received at Hatfield, where she was living under a guard, at once the news of her sister's death, and the proclamation of herself as Queen by the general consent of both Houses of Parliament, and the publick sufferance of the people<sup>l</sup>.

1558. Soon after her accession to the Crown, she turned her attention to the state of the Coinage, and endeavoured to prevent the exportation of Money, by forbidding the carrying it abroad by way of exchange<sup>m</sup>. She next issued a Commission, which bore date upon the 31st of December in her first year, by which Sir Edmund Peckham, knt. High Treasurer of the Mint, Thomas Stanley, Comptroller, and others, were authorized "to make Sovereigns at thirty Shillings, twenty-four to the pound weight; Angels at ten Shillings, seventy-two to the pound; and Angelets, of the fineness of twenty-three carats ten grains and a half fine Gold,

<sup>l</sup> When she received the news, she fell on her knees, and after a good time of respiration, uttered this verse of the Psalm: A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD, ET EST MIRABILE IN OCULIS NOSTRIS. And this we find to this day on the stamp of her Gold, with this on her Silver, POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM. [Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*. Harleian Miscellany, vol. II. p. 73.] The same anecdote is related by Welwood in his *Memoirs*, p. 6; but the whole is probably unfounded, as both these mottos are to be found upon the Coins of her sister Mary, from whence they were borrowed by her.

<sup>m</sup> Camdeni *Annales Eliz.* vol. I. p. 27. But quære, Whether Camden did not allude to the Writ of May 1st, 1559, which is the earliest record to that effect which I have been able to discover in this reign.

and one grain and a half allay, (as the Record has it, instead of three grains and a half fine, and half a grain allay, which bear the same proportion, and shew evidently the mistake) and of Crown Gold, twenty-two carats fine, Sovereigns at twenty Shillings, thirty-three to the pound; Half Sovereigns, Crowns, and Half-Crowns. Remedy, as well for fine as Crown Gold, two grains; Coinage four Shillings. And of Silver (eleven ounces fine and one ounce allay) Shillings, sixty to the pound; Half-Shillings, Groats, Half-Groats, and Pence. Remedy, two pennyweights; Coinage, to the Queen eighteen pence per pound weight." <sup>n</sup>

It appears that, during the last reign, Money for the use of Phillip's foreign Dominions had been coined in the Tower of London. The implements which were made use of for that purpose were, upon the late Queen's decease, detained by the Officers of the Mint, who supposed them to belong to their office; but they were afterwards restored, upon a certificate from Mr. Stanley the Comptroller<sup>o</sup>.

Moryson asserts that the Irish had a Mint of their own at the beginning of this reign<sup>p</sup>; but it is probable that he was misinformed, and that no Money was at that time struck in Ireland, for on the 17th of February, in her first year, 1558-9, a Commission was granted to Sir Edmund Peckham, knt. High Treasurer of the Mints, Thomas Stanley, Comptroller within the Tower of London, and others,

<sup>n</sup> Leake, p. 232, quoting 1 Eliz. p. 4, memb. 14. Qu. Clause or Patent?

<sup>o</sup> Strype's Annals, vol. I. p. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Itinerary, p. 283.



to coin twelve thousand Pounds of the base English Money into twenty-four thousand pounds Irish.

1559. A like Commission, to the same persons, (with the addition of John Bull, Assay Master in the Tower, for that time appointed; and John Munnys, Provost of the Moniers; and all other Officers,) was issued upon the first day of May following. It authorized them to alter the base Monies then current, into Harp Shillings and Groats, to be defrained about the Queen's affairs in Ireland. Four thousand Pounds of such Money to be coined into eight thousand Pounds Irish, at three ounces fine out of the fire, and nine ounces alloy. The pound Troy to be coined into forty Shillings. These Coins to have a crowned harp, the arms of Ireland, on the one side, and the Queen's picture on the other; and to be current in Ireland only. The remedy not to be exceeded of three pennyweights at the Assay, and the same at the Shere.

In the same year, a Writ was issued which recited a Statute of 7th Edward VI. entitled An Act to revive a Statute of the 17th of Edward IV. forbidding the carrying any Money of the realm, or other Coins, Plate, &c. out of the Kingdom, without license, (except by such persons as were dispensed with in the Statute of Henry VI. and other Statutes,) on pain of felony; which Statute of Edward IV.

Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 35. That is, as I conceive, for the express purpose of converting the base Monies into Coins for Ireland.

These are the words of the Commission.

Pat. 1 Eliz. part 3. m. 36. dors. May 1. A similar Writ bore date on the 8th of June. Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 3. dors.



was made to endure for seven years from Easter in his eighteenth year, and was continued for twenty years from Lady Day 1489, [4 Henry VII.] and again confirmed and continued for the same term of twenty years in the 8th of Edward VI.

It was, however, ordained by this Writ, that it should be lawful for all notorious Merchants, and all and every other person or persons, passing out of the Realm by royal license, to carry with them four Poundls of any Coin current within the Realm (or under and not above), or any rings or signets of Gold or Silver upon their fingers, without any loss of life, lands, &c. or any other pain, forfeiture, or imprisonment, &c.

By these Coinages, for the use of Ireland, some part of the base Coins then current in England was taken out of circulation, and what remained was shortly afterwards reduced in value by a Proclamation, which was issued upon the 27th of September in the following year.

It began with stating, that by the long suffering of the base Monies, coined before her Majesty's reign, and since, not only the Crown, but the Nobility and Subjects of her Realm, were daily more and more impoverished, and the antient and singular honour and estimation, which the Realm of England had, beyond all other, by plenty of Monies of Gold and Silver, only fine and not base, was decayed and vanished away; but also that great quantities of forged and counterfeit Coins were brought from abroad, for which the antient fine Gold and Silver, and the rich merchandizes of the realm were

W. H. A. ...

4 May 1. Pat. 1 Eliz. m. 13, dors.

carried away, and the prices of all things enhanced. Her Majesty therefore did, by Proclamation, reduce the said base Coins, as near to their value as might be; viz. the base Penny to three Farthings; the Two-pence to one Penny and an Halfpenny; and the Teston of six Pence to four Pence Halfpenny; excepting the Testons marked in the uppermost part in the border thereof with one of the following four marks, viz. a lion, a rose, a harp, or a flower de luce, which were not above a sixth part of the said base Testons, but which were so base and full of Copper, (as was easy to be seen and understood,) and differed so much in value from all the rest of the base Testons, that they could not, without great inconvenience to the Realm, by reason of the multitude of counterfeiters, bear any convenient or like value as the others did; and therefore it was commanded that the Testons, with such marks, should from that time be taken as current at two Pence Farthing each, and no more, being as much as they were proved to contain in value, and so to continue, as current Money, only during the space of four months. And for the relief of such persons as should possess any of them, her Majesty was pleased to sustain the burden, and to cause to be delivered at her Mint in London, at any time within the space of four months, for every Teston so marked, two Pence Farthing of good new sterling Monies of fine Silver, or so much more as any of the same should be proved to contain in good Silver; and also for every pound of the same being brought to the Mint, three Pence of sterling Silver, over and above\*.

\* Sir James Ware says, that the mixed Money of England

And for the speedy converting of the other base Monies into fine, her Majesty was pleased to give, at her Mint in London, for every of the said pieces, so much good sterling Monies of fine Silver, after the rate as they were now by her Proclamation rated, valued, and made current; and for every twenty Shillings of them brought to the Mint and exchanged, three Pence of like good fine Monies.

This Proclamation likewise commanded, that all former laws against carrying out of the realm, or melting, Monies, either base or fine, should be strictly enforced. And because that the distinguishing of the said Testons, so marked, might be doubtful, because the marks were small, and might be partly worn out, it was ordered, that any controversy thereupon should be ended and determined by the Mayor, &c. or any other the principal officer in any City or Town Corporate; by the Justices of the Peace in every Market Town, not Corporate, if any should be residing there; or else by the Curate of the principal Church, and the chief Officer or Bailiff of the toll of the same market; and in every other parish, either by the Justice of the Peace, if any one should reside within one mile; or else by the Curate of the Parish, and the two Constables, or Headboroughs, or any two of them; to whose judgment both the parties which should pay and

(being no longer current there) was brought into Ireland, in great quantities. The Bungalls (so called by the Irish), went for Sixpence, and the broad pieces at twelve Pence, at first; but afterwards the former went only for Twopence, and the latter for a Grbat. This lasted not long. After they were refused elsewhere, they continued to pass in Connaught; the former at a Penny, and the latter at Twopence. [Irish Hist. Library, p. 79.]

receive, should stand and abide concerning the valuation of the said base Testons. And all Justices, &c. were commanded to prevent and stay the covetousness of such as upon the publication of the Proclamation should seek to advance the accustomed price of any manner of victual, &c. and to punish the offenders with speed and severity, as they would answer at their peril.

In two days after the issuing of this Proclamation there was published, by authority, the following Summary of certain reasons, which have moved Queen Elizabeth to proceed in reformations of her base and coarse Monies, and to reduce them to their values, in sort as they may be returned to fine Monies. Appointed to be delivered by her Majesty, by order of her Proclamation, in her City of London.

First of all it is known that the honour and reputation of the singular wealth that this realm was wont to have above all other realms, was partly in that it had no current Monies but Gold and Silver, whereas contrary all other Countries, as Almayn,

Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. The date of Sept. 27 is added in MS. It should seem from an anecdote which Strype has recorded, that this reduction of the value of the base Coins was made without any previous warning. In Strype, in September was a resolution taken very shortly of calling down base Money. And the Queen swore (as one Allen wrote from Court to the Earl of Shrewsbury) that the day and time should be kept secret to herself; and that few besides should know it, so that men should have but short warning of the matter. [Strype's Annals, vol. 1, p. 235.] Her Majesty's idea of individual secrecy appears not to have been very correct. Strype has not given any authority for this anecdote.

France, Spain, Flanders, Scotland, and the rest of Christendom, have had, and still have, certain base Monies now of late days, by turning of fine Monies into base, much decayed, and daily grown into infamy and reproach, and therefore is thought necessary to be recovered. Wherein like as her Majesty for her part meaneth to be at great charges, so every good English subject ought to be content, though it seem some small loss at the first.

Also, by continuing of the base Monies, divers persons, both in foreign parts and within the realm, have counterfeited from time to time no small quantity, and brought to port towns, and uttered the same at the first after the rate of twelve Pence a Teston, and after that for six Pence, where the same was not indeed worth above two Pence, and carried out of the realm, for those base Monies, the rich commodities of the same, as wool, cloth, lead, tin, leather, tallow, yea, and all kind of victual, as corn, malt, beer, butter, cheese, and such like, so as counterfeiters, and such like, have for small sums of Monies counterfeited, carried out six times the value in commodities of the realm.

By the means also that these base Monies were current, divers subtle people have changed the same for the Gold and fine Silver Monies of this realm, and have transported and carried out the same Gold and Silver, so as although there hath been coined, both in the latter end of the reign of King Edward and in the time of Queen Mary, and now also since the Queen's Majesty's reign, great quantities of Gold and Silver, yet no part thereof is seen commonly current, but, as it may be thought, some part thereof is carried hence, and some percase by

the wiser sort of people kept in store, as it were to be wished that the whole were.

“Also, by continuance of this sort of base Monies, although Almighty God hath given now of late years plentiful increase by the earth, for the which he is to be thanked, without any such plagues of scarcity as in our forefathers time hath been read, when many hundreds and thousands of people have died for famine, yet the prices of all things growing or coming from the earth, hath immeasurably and daily risen, as all manner of grain, fruit, cattle, bestial, victual, wool, leather, and such like, and no remedy could be devised to amend the same, but to cause that the same base Monies should be current for no more than they were in just value. For every man of the least understanding, by one means or other knew that a Teston was not worth six Pence, nor the piece of Two-pence was worth so much, and therefore no man would give gladly that thing which was, and ever had been, worth six Pence, for a Teston, but would rather require two Testons; and so a thing being worth six Pence, was bought and sold either for two Testons, or one and a half, which was in reckoning twelve or nine Pence, and now every Teston being brought to the just value, it must needs follow that one shall buy of another hereafter that for four Pence Halfpenny, which was wont to cost six Pence. And when the Teston shall be brought into fine Silver, then shall all men be as desirous to sell any ware for such fine Monies, as they have of late been loth and unwilling to sell any thing for the base Monies, except they might have had twice as much of the base Monies as they were wont to have

of the fine, or else that for necessity they were driven to sell the same.

“By this means also, now that the base Monies are brought to the just value, and that every man shall have fine Monies for them; all poor people that lived of their hard labour, as well artificers in cities or towns, as labourers in husbandry, or men that took daye<sup>z</sup> wages, either by land, by sea, or by fresh waters, and all mean gentlemen that lived but upon pensions and stipends, and all soldiers and serving-men, that lived upon solde<sup>z</sup> and wages, shall have their pensions, stipends, soldes and wages, now paid in good and fine Monies, and therewith shall buy more necessaries for their sustentation than could afore be bought: who surely having heretofore after the rate of twenty Shillings, twenty-six Shillings eight Pence, five Nobles, forty Shillings, four Marks, five Marks, four Pounds, five Pounds, twenty Nobles, and so upward by the year paid to them in these base Monies, could not have so much victual, apparel, weapon, armour, horses, or such like, with the said stipend, by more than a fourth part, as they now shall have, because indeed the said base Monies were of themselves no more worth.

“By this reformation also of base Monies shall necessarily follow a more profitable account betwixt the Monies of this realm and of other countries, and thereby the account which by merchants is called the Exchange shall also arise in estimation of the Monies of England, in such sort as in former times hath been, and the foreign commodities thereby also

<sup>z</sup> Soldiers pay, from the French Sould, an old word. Cotgrave.



be bought for easier prices, to the benefit of all such  
 as shall use the same. So as the matter well considered, the greatest  
 number, and especially the poorest, shall have most  
 commodity hereby, yea, and such others as have  
 most grieved by excessive prices, shall have also (if  
 they will consider themselves) no small profit and  
 help. And, finally, no manner of person in the  
 whole realm shall have, after one or two months,  
 hurt hereby, except only the traitor which hath  
 lived by counterfeiting. And therefore it is to be  
 allowed and embraced of all people, and every man  
 to think, that although at the first he may suppose  
 that he hath less Money in his purse, yet shall he  
 have for the same metal as much as that was worth,  
 either in ware or at her Majesty's Mint in fine Mo-  
 nies. And whensoever he shall utter that base Mo-  
 nies, which at the time of the Proclamation he had,  
 the next that he shall get, either by his hand labour  
 or for his wages, shall be either fine Monies or such  
 as he may have as much fine Monies in the Mint  
 for it. And consequently every man ought to thank  
 Almighty God, that he may live to see the Honour  
 of his Country thus partly recovered: Silver to come  
 in place of Copper, prices of things amend, all  
 people to be more able to live of their wages, every  
 man's purse or coffer made free from the privy thief,  
 which was the counterfeit. And, finally, the trea-  
 sure of this realm to be of Silver and Gold, as was  
 wont in our forefathers' time, and not of Brass and  
 Copper, besides many other great commodities that  
 hereof must needs ensue, which but for length  
 might be declared, and for all the same, no loss to  
 any, otherwise but in opinion at the beginning, not



much unlike to them that being sick receive a medicine, and in the taking feel some bitterness, but yet thereby recover health and strength, and save their lives.

“And because it is seen by experience, that many times when good things be devised and attempted, the Devil sleepeth not, to hinder the same, but causeth them either to be defeated, or to be defamed and mistaken. Therefore it is meet, that no manner of person give any credit to such as shall cast abroad any mistrust of amendment of the Money, or shall pretend this decree to be greater or more burdensome than it is. For truly this amendment is so fully purposed by her Majesty, as beside that, experience shall try it within one month or six weeks, within sufficient times necessary things for the Mint, must be provided. It is need, that her Majesty may reform these Monies, according to her Proclamation, without any such great loss as might move her to forbear it. And on the other side, the Monies be so justly valued, as indeed the base Testons being set at two Pence Farthing, and her Majesty giving at her Mint, for every pound of them, twenty Shillings, and three Pence in reward, shall thereby give rather more than they shall be worth being melted, than less. So that her Majesty, who since she came to this Crown never gained any thing by any Coinage, nor yet ever coined any manner of base Monies for this realm, will not now determine to leave the honour and fame that she shall with small loss or gain recover by this noble act, to benefit her realm and people.”

“And as to the opinion of the burden of the loss,

where the base Testons be valued but at two Pence Farthing, whereby such as have them shall seem to have the greatest loss, it is to be well and reasonably construed and taken of all men, for that there hath not by good account which hath been made and well proved, been above a sixth part compared to the other base Monies of the same sort of Testons coined in the Mints of this realm, and at the Coinage of the same base Testons now valued at two Pence Farthing, which was done in the time of the wars heretofore, there were set thereto certain marks, as a lion, a rose, a fleur-de-luce, or a harp, called the privy marks of such as were then Masters of the Mint, which also be specified in the Proclamation.

“For the better understanding whereof, here be in the end of this declaration set certain stamps or prints, of every kind of the same base Testons, with their said several marks, to the intent that every person looking and beholding the same prints may the better judge and discern the same from the other, that be valued at four Pence Halfpenny, although if the same be well considered, the colour of the said base Teston will show the baseness thereof: and because her Majesty meaneth to ease her subjects as much as possible may be, she is pleased to command her Officers in her Mint, that where there be many counterfeit Testons, which were made by counterfeiters, when the Testons were at the value of twelve Pence a piece, and since also that they were decreed to six Pence, and by estimation were so made as they did contain about two Pence Farthing or thereabouts in Silver. They shall do their endeavour to receive and try such

counterfeits, and shall give to the subjects either for every such counterfeit two Pence Farthing, or so much good fine Monies as the same counterfeit shall contain in Silver; whereby the people shall be relieved of such loss in some part for counterfeit, as in no realm any Prince either hath or ought to do. And for this and for all the rest of the commodities hereof likely to ensue; her Majesty trusteth her most honourable good meaning shall be embraced of all her good loving subjects, and every person with good will, will yield to bear a small burden for a time, to avoid a perpetual and endless oppression, not only of themselves and their posterity, but also of the whole commonweal.

“ Given under the Queen’s Majesty’s Signet at her honour of Hampton Court, the 29th of September, the second year of her Majesty’s reign, MDLX.”

From this Declaration (which is given at length on account of the very curious information it contains) it appears that the first steps toward the reformation of the base Coins were extremely unpopular. Her Majesty seems to have been very solicitous to obviate the objections to the measure, and more especially those which originated in the fear of pecuniary loss that all orders of men were aware it must bring upon them. The arguments which she used for this purpose were not calculated to produce the effect intended, and it is probable that the murmurs of her discontented subjects were

\* This summary was printed in 1560, quarto b. 1. and reprinted in 1696 at the end of “A Letter of Advice to a Friend about the currency of clipped Money,” 8vo. London, without the prints of the Coins.

restrained more by the dread of her power than by the strength of her reasoning.<sup>b</sup>

*\* Francis Allen (see Dodge's Illustr. of British History, vol. i. p. 345.) writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury 3<sup>d</sup> Sept. 1560. says, "There is like to be a calling down of the base money, I understand very shortly; and the Queen's Ma<sup>ty</sup> hath sworn that the day and time shall be kepte secret to herself, and that few besides shall know; so as the very time, whensoever it chaunceth, will be so shorte and vnsayde that men are like to have small warninge of the matter."*

Before the publishing of the Proclamation of the 27th of September, several persons, both strangers and English, had collected large quantities of the Testons, to make advantage of them, either by melting or carrying out of the realm. As this practice was not checked by the value at which they were made current by that Proclamation, (which appears to have been somewhat under their intrinsic worth,) it was found necessary to issue another on the 9th of October following, which declared it to be felony to buy any manner of Monies within the realm, or to blanch, or willingly batter, break, or melt, any one piece of Money, or to carry any manner of sum of Monies out of the Realm, except according to the license of the Laws, or to transport any Bullion or Plate, or to utter the Monies at higher values than they were rated; and that the offender should be committed to the next common gaol, to be punished according to the laws. Merchant strangers to be punished in like manner. Whoever should disclose such offences was to have all the Money which should be so found, either bought, blanchd, battered, broken, melted, carried away, or provided and gotten by exchange for that purpose; and if the same should be under forty pounds, he should have as much of her Majesty as would make up that sum, and also the grant of any reasonable suit meet for such person as the same might be.

<sup>b</sup> To defray the expence of reforming the Coinage, her Majesty employed Gresham in the year 1559, as treasurer for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp. [Hume's History of England, vol. V. p. 496.]

And if any person should but suspect any other for doing, travailing, or going about to do any thing contrary to the Proclamation, so as to disclose in any house, or other secret place, any melters, or furnace made ready to melt, or in any boat or vessel, any sum of Money to be hidden, or other like to be transported, and should inform any officer, and upon search the offence should be found; then the informer should have one half, and the officer should not, without his consent, disclose the name of the informer.

All officers to whom the assize of bread, ale, &c, belonged, or the clerkship of any fair or market, were commanded, by the Proclamation, to see that all manner of victuals were sold at reasonable prices, and that good assize was kept.

All stewards of fairs were required to see that the Proclamation was duly observed.

And because much trouble and disquiet had arisen from the difficulty of distinguishing the Testons of two Pence Farthing from those of four Pence Halfpenny (although they were sufficiently described in the late Proclamation, and the prints and stamps of the said Testons of two Pence Farthing had lately been set forth in print) her Majesty therefore ordered, that within her City of London should be appointed, by order of the Mayor, in sundry open places of the city, certain honest, faithful, and skilful persons, to view and consider all manner of Testons that should be brought to them, and show which were, and ought to be, of the value of four Pence Halfpenny, and which of two Pence Farthing, and should speedily strike those of four Pence Halfpenny with the mark of a portcullis before the

face of the King, and those of two Pence Farthing with the print of a greyhound behind the head of the King; that the same might be better known; and if the same order should be found to do any good, her Majesty would cause the like to be observed in other cities and towns.

The Proclamation stated, further, that to make an end of all troubles arising from the base Monies, her Majesty had already begun a Coinage of fine Money in the Tower of London, and would, with all possible diligence, forward the same, so as every person, upon knowledge which should very shortly be given, bringing his base Monies, should within twenty days have fine Money for the same. And for the ease of the further parts of her realm, her Majesty meant also to send into divers parts thereof sundry quantities of fine Monies, of Gold and Silver, to be exchanged for the said base Monies, and until that time her Majesty doubted not but that her loving subjects would bear with some small trouble therein at the first, considering the great commodity that thereafter plainly and speedily would arise.

And as her Majesty had seen it necessary to reduce the base Monies to the equal value of the fine, so it was necessary that the foreign Gold current within the realm should be of equal value with the Gold of the realm; it was therefore ordained, by the same Proclamation, that the Crowns named Burgundians, Kaisers, or French Crowns, then current at six Shillings and four Pence, should go for six Shillings, and no more; Pistolets, then valued at six Shillings and two Pence, for five Shillings and ten Pence; upon pain that whosoever should utter

the same at any higher value, or should break, melt, or transport the same, should suffer like punishment as above mentioned, in like cases, for any other Monies.

In consequence of the reduction of the current value of the Pistolets by this Proclamation, certain Coins of inferior value were circulated as Pistolets amongst ignorant people. It was therefore ordered that the four following Coins only should be current as Pistolets at five Shillings and ten Pence; viz. two of the King of Spain's Coin, one of Venice, and one of Florence, the portraits of which were given in the margin of a Proclamation that was issued upon the 2d of November in the same year. And to relieve those who had ignorantly received

*Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.*

The date of the 9th of October is added in MS.

In the margin are pictures, in wood, of the Testons marked with the portcullis and greyhound. The Mint-mark of the portcullis Teston is a swan; that of the Greyhound, a lion passant guardant.

This Proclamation, and that which immediately precedes it, are referred to by Holinshed, together with some additions and alterations, the authority for which I have not been able to trace.

He says that the Queen published a Proclamation on Michaelmasse even before noone, that the Teston coined for twelve Pence and in the reigne of King Edward embased by Proclamation to six Pence, should now forthwith, (that of the best sort marked with the portcullis) be currant for four Pence Halfe penie: the second marked with the grehound for two Pence Farthing; the third and worst sort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor received for any value. The sixth to be currant for two Pence, the former pece of two Pence for a Penie, &c. [Chronicle, vol. II. p. 1193.] This Statement has been adopted by Stow and Camden, and implicitly quoted by Leake and Folkes. Camden adds, the Coin of two Pence to three Halfe penie, and the brazen Penny to an Halfe penny Farthing. [Leake, p. 234.]



the Coins above-mentioned, her Majesty was pleased to give the full value of them, as they held in Gold, at her Mint.

On the 5th of the same month, an Indenture was made with Thomas Stanley, and others, for coining both Gold and Silver of the old standard. It provided, that a pound weight of Gold, of twenty-three carats three grains and an half fine, should be coined into thirty-six pounds by tale; viz. into twenty-four Sovereigns at thirty Shillings a piece, or forty-eight Rials at fifteen Shillings a piece, or seventy-two Angels at ten Shillings a piece, or one hundred and forty-four Half-Angels at five Shillings each. A pound weight of Crown Gold, of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats alloy, was to be coined into thirty-three pounds by tale, that is, into thirty-three Sovereigns at twenty Shillings a piece, or sixty-six Half-Sovereigns at ten Shillings, or one hundred and thirty-two Crowns at five Shillings. And a pound weight of the old standard Silver, that is, of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, and

<sup>a</sup> MS. Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, in a coeval hand. The portraits not drawn.

<sup>b</sup> This date is copied from Folkes's Table, p. 49, for Lowndes gives that of her second year only.

<sup>c</sup> Lord Liverpool, in his Letter to the King, p. 100, doubts whether the Queen acted wisely in this alteration of the standard of the Silver Coins, as by that measure she "again rendered the two metals, of which our Coins are made, of different and unequal standards, so that from thenceforth they became not of the same proportion or degree of fineness, and for that reason, their relative values cannot now be so easily compared." A marginal note says that Mr. Locke seems to have been of this opinion. See his answer to Mr. Lowndes. His Lordship has not referred to the passage, and I know not where it is to be found.



eighteen pennyweights alloy, was to be coined into three pounds by tale; that is, into one hundred and twenty Half-Shillings, or a proportionable number of Groats, Quarter-Shillings, Half-Groats, Three-Halfpenny pieces, Pence, and Three-Farthing pieces<sup>b</sup>.

It is probable, however, that the Coinage according to this Indenture did not take place immediately, as the Indenture for receiving the base Monies, out of which it seems, that this Coinage was formed, bore date upon the 9th of December following. It was made with Thomas Fleetwood, Under-Treasurer of the Mint in the Tower of London, who covenanted "to take into his hands, by number and tale, all such base Money of her Highnesses Coin, then current, as should be sent in by her Highness or her subjects, &c. after such rates and values as were appointed in the late Proclamation, giving Bills for the same. And the same then to refine and convert into sterling Monies of Silver; viz. into Shillings, Groats, Half-Groats, and Pennies, of the standard of eleven ounces two pennyweights, &c."

For the converting this base Money into sterling there was a separate Mint in the Tower, which lasted about a year; and a computation was given in of the base Monies received into the Mint from Michaelmas 1560 to Michaelmas 1561, with the charges of the workmanship, as may be seen below<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Lowndes, p. 49. Polkes, p. 51 note \*.

<sup>c</sup> Total of the mass of base Monies was pound weights, 631,950. £. s. d.

Which was current Money according to the rates

of their several standards . . . . . 638,113 16 6

Total of the mass of fine Monies, pound weight, 844,416.

Which is in Monies current at sixty Shillings the

pound weight . . . . . 783,248 0 0

The Lord Treasurer Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith were, according to Sir Robert Cotton, the chief advisers of this measure. They told the Queen that it was the honour of her Crown, and the true

The Charges of Coinage.

To the two Treasurers of the Mint, Thomas Stanley and Thomas Flegewood, for Coinage at seven Pence the pound weight	7,128	16	0
Necessaries, as coals, coining irons, &c.	3,848	2	8
Fees of Officers, with their diet for one year	2,006	5	7
Sum total of the charges aforesaid, amounting to	12,983	4	3

[Leake, page 339] He makes the total £10,306. 4s. 3d. but it is impossible to guess by what mode of calculation he arrived at such a result. The authority which he quotes for this account is Stow's Survey of London, 1720. Strype's ed. tom. I. lib. I, cap. 18. p. 98.

The dross of this base metal is said to have been carried to foul highways to be lightened. [Stow's Survey, p. 45.] The bulk of it must indeed have been very considerable, as the difference of weight, after the base metal had been reduced to standard, was no less than 357,534 pounds.

A strange story is told of the workmen who were employed in melting these base coins; that most of them fell sick to death with the vapour, and that they were advised to drink in a dead man's skull for their cure. That accordingly a warrant was procured from the Council to take off the heads from London Bridge, and to make cups of them, out of which they drank, and found some relief, although most of them died. [Agarde on Sterling Money. Hearne's Curious Discourses, vol. II. p. 317.]

If there be any thing in this tale, it is probable that the sickness arose from the fumes of arsenick with which the base metal was fluxed.

At this time, says Stow, as quoted by Leake, p. 241, odd pieces were coined, namely, four Pence Halfpenny, two Pence Farthing, and Penny Halfpenny pieces. But these are evidently nothing more than the base Testons, &c. which were reduced to those respective values, by the Proclamation of the 27th of September.

wealth of herself and people, to reduce the standard to the ancient parity and purity of her great-grandfather King Edward IV. and that it was not the short ends of wit, nor starting holes of devices, that could sustain the expense of a Monarchy, but sound and solid courses.

A medal was struck to perpetuate the memory of this event. On the Obverse it bore the Queen's bust, full-faced, with this inscription, ET ANGLIÆ GLORIA. On the Reverse, Justice, seated, bearing the sword and balance, with this legend, BENE CONSTITUTA RE NUMARIA.

It seems that rumours had been spread abroad, that the base Testons of four Pence Half penny would not be current after the end of the next January, and it was found necessary, in order to quiet the minds of the people, to issue a Proclamation, upon the 28d of December, declaring that all the base Money which had been decried of late by Proclamation, except the Teston of two Pence Farthing, should continue and be current still, as rated by that Proclamation, until it could be brought to the Mint at London to be exchanged for new sterling Money, with allowance of three Pence in the Pound to the bringer.

<sup>1</sup> Cottoni Posthuma, p. 287, quoting a memorial of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's hand. But see the life of Lord Burleigh in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. I. lib. 1. p. 13, where the sole merit is ascribed to his Lordship.

<sup>m</sup> Snelling's Medals, Plate V. No 3. Her Majesty was likewise complimented, upon this occasion, in the Preambles to Statutes [Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 11. and cap. 27. Rastall]; in Speeches delivered in the House of Commons [Parl. Hist. vol. IV. p. 214.] and by contemporary historians. [See Camden's Annals, Cowper's Continuation of Lanquet's Chronicle, Holinshed, Stow, &c.]

It further declared, that the pieces of two Pence Farthing were intended, by the late Proclamation, to be current only until the last day of January, but that the time was now extended to three months after that period; during which time all that should be brought to the Mint should be paid for in good Silver, at the rate of two Pence Farthing. And all persons were charged not to refuse the said base Money, viz. the Four-pence Halfpenny, the Three-halfpence, and the Three-farthings, at the value affixed by the said late Proclamation; and likewise the other base Testons, of two Pence Farthing, at the same rates, until the last day of January 1. 1661.

About this time the Irish Coins, which had been so much debased during the three former reigns, and in the beginning of this, were restored to nearly their former purity and intrinsic value. Upon which an old Poet of those days made the following ballad:

Let bone-fires shine in every place,

Sing, and ring the bells apace;

And pray that long may live her Grace,

To be the good Queen of Ireland.

The Gold and Silver, which was so base

That no man could endure it scarce,

Is now new-coyn'd with her own face,

And made go current in Ireland.

A particular kind of Money was, by order of the Queen, struck for the use of that Kingdom; viz. Shillings, of the value of nine Pence English, to pass

The only copy of this Proclamation which I have ever seen was in the possession of Mr. Mason, bookseller, in Gerrard Street, London, who very obligingly permitted me to make extracts from it.

in Ireland for twelve Pence. ~~These~~ <sup>These</sup> were also coined ~~in the year 1560~~ <sup>in the year 1560</sup>

1560. On the 19th of February, a Proclamation was issued for calling in the base Monies.

It began by stating that her Majesty had already caused to be coined in fine sterling Monies, such quantity as, being added to other fine Monies coined in the times of her late dear brother and sister, King Edward and Queen Mary, as far exceeded the quantity of Monies used of antient times in this realm; and therefore, by advice and good deliberation, had, with her Council, thought necessary to proceed to the diminution of certain base Monies yet remaining current within her realm; And because her Majesty desired nothing more than to discharge her subjects, and specially her poor com-

Simon, p. 37. The weight of these Irish Shillings should be seventy-two grains each, provided they were of the same fineness as the English Shilling, which then weighed 96 grains. Simon has diminished this weight to seventy grains and one quarter, from a misconception of a passage in Malynes's *Lex Mercatoria*, p. 305, which he imagined to relate to these Coins, but which, in fact, refers to the base Harp Shillings. See a representation of these Coins in the Supplement, Part II. Irish Coins.

Camden speaks in very high terms of this Coinage: "*Paulloq; post probam pecuniam, quam sterlingam vocamus, pro Hiberniæ regno procudit, eo valore, ut solidus xlii denarios in Hibernia, et ix in Anglia, valeret. Magnum sane hoc et memorandum, quod nec Edwardus sextus potuit, nec Maria ausa, postquam Henricus 8<sup>us</sup> vir pecuniam primus Regum Angliæ subrepperat, magno regni detrimento, successorum, populiq; damno.*" [Annales Eliz. sub anno 1560.]

p. This Proclamation I have found only in "A Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth. Collected by Humfrey Dyson 1618." At the end are the titles of Proclamations in the reign of James I. ending with Sept. 10, in his 16th year.

monalty, of all manner of burden herein, it was ordained, that, after the 9th day of April next following, all the pieces lately valued at *iiii*d. ob. should not be taken nor allowed as current Money, but be accounted as Bullion, and to be received as such, until the 25th of April, at her Majesty's Mint in the Tower, at the rate of *iiii*d. ob. the piece, and *iiii*d. for the Pound in new sterling Monies within the space of twenty days or less. And after that, until the 20th of May, to be received at the like rate, excepting the *iiii*d. in the Pound, and from thenceforward not to be received into the Mint.

And her Majesty further declared, that the difficulties which at first attended the refining and coinage were all taken away, and that her subjects might come to her Mint, without doubt there to be satisfied for small sums at sight, or within two or three days, and for greater within eight or ten, and at the furthest not to continue above twenty.

Finally, her Majesty charged her subjects to endeavour to bring to her Mints not only the said base Monies of *iiii*d. ob. but also, as they might conveniently, the other pieces of *id*. ob. and ob. q. which her Majesty still permitted to remain current for the ease of her people for lack of small Monies, of which sort her Majesty intended to have a Coinage, as shortly as might be, in good and fine sterling Monies.

And because it might be that divers of her Majesty's own proper Tenants, Farmers, Bailiffs, or

9. This day was appointed specially by her Majesty, because, being fifteen days after Lady-day, it would give convenient time to tenants, &c. to pay their rents at Lady-day without trouble, if they should chance to have prepared any part of the same in the said sort of Money.

Receivers, might after the said 9th of April, have  
 in their hands parcel of her Majesty's revenues, it  
 was her pleasure that this Officers in the Receipt of  
 her Exchequer should receive the same as current  
 Money until the 25th of May next following.  
 1561. The Queen, still continuing desires to  
 deliver her realm from the infamy of base Monies,  
 thought fit to make a full end of abolishing them by  
 a Proclamation, which was dated upon the 12th of  
 June in her third year. It stated that those which  
 were lawfully current at that time, were only two  
 small pieces, one going for one Penny Halfpenny,  
 and the other for three Farthings. And besides  
 these, it was thought that there remained some  
 small quantity of three other pieces of base Money,  
 scarcely worth consideration, which were coined in  
 former times, one for a Penny, another for an Halfe  
 penny, and one other for a Farthing, which were  
 then not certainly valued, but were taken amongst  
 common people uncertainly. And was therefore or-  
 dered, that none of these base Monies should be  
 current after the 20th day of July next following,  
 but from that time should be reckoned as Bullion.  
 But for the relief of those who should at, or before,  
 that time possess the same, her Majesty would give  
 to those who should bring to the Mint at the Tower  
 any of the pieces of three Halfpenny and three Far-  
 things, before the 25th of August next ensuing, not  
 only their current value in fine Money, but in con-  
 sideration of their portage, three Pence for every  
 Pound thereof, within the space of twenty days or  
 less. And after the said 25th of August, until the  
 20th of September, the value only without any al-  
 lowance for portage. And for the smaller pieces



above-mentioned, every person who would bring them to the Mint, before the said 20th of September, should have the full value of the Silver contained in the same; and, from the 20th of September, her Majesty (having, as it were, achieved to the victory and conquest of that hideous monster of the Brass Money, which, although it had no great continuance in the realm, yet had the same been in part no small occasion of many evils in the same) willed and required all her subjects to use all the expedition that they might in bringing all their base Money into the Mints, that it might be speedily refined, and an end put to that good work.

It appears from this Proclamation that the greatest part of the base Testons and Groats had already been brought to the Mint, in the short space of less than nine months from the date of the Ordinance by which their current value was reduced. The activity of her subjects, on this occasion, was probably somewhat increased by an hint, which was given in the summary recited above, that the price allowed in the Mint was something more than the value of the base Coins, and an apprehension that her Majesty's generosity might possibly experience some abatement. The Queen was, however, too anxious for the completion of this great and meritorious work, to suffer her love for Money to oppose any obstacle to it. In order to hasten it, and at the same time to convince her subjects how much she was in earnest, she went publicly to the Tower; where she visited her Mints, and coined certain pieces of Gold, which she gave away to several about her.

The Proclamation in the Antiquary Society's Library, in a coeval hand: See H. G. S. Strype's Annals, vol. I. p. 234.



The inconveniences which arose from the want of small Monies of fine Silver, began now to be severely felt. This want was occasioned by the greater part of the Money lately coined having been Shillings, and a small quantity only Groats, Pence, and Halfpennies, which was done, in haste and expedition, to avoid the base Monies. Her Majesty, therefore, gave orders, that no more Shillings should be coined, but that, besides the Groats, Half-Groats, and Pence, there should be immediately coined, in fine Sterling Monies, Half-Shillings of six Pence, Quarter-Shillings of three Pence, and a half-piece thereof called Three-Halfpence. And because an Halfpenny could not be made of such fineness, to bear any convenient bulk, another small piece should also be coined of three Farthings. All which pieces her Majesty assured her subjects (in a Proclamation which was issued upon the 15th of November) should be made of mere fine sterling Silver. And whatsoever might be reported to the contrary, (as percase had been, though most falsely and slanderously, of the Money already coined, as of late had been notoriously proved,) her Majesty let them all to understand, that she never intended (God's grace assisting her) to lose the fruit of so famous an act, by abusing the Coin of the realm, which she found to be for the more part Copper, and had now recovered it to be as fine, or rather finer, sterling Silver, than ever it was in the realm by the space of two hundred years and more, a matter worth marking and memory.

And as great quantities of foreign Coins of Gold and Silver were received by her subjects at far greater values than they were worth, and that no certain

value could be set upon them, because the standard of them was commonly changed for gain, and so easily counterfeited, it was ordered, by the same Proclamation, that from henceforth no foreign Coins of Gold and Silver should be received, or paid, as current, except the French Crown, and the Flemish or Burgundian Crown, the prints whereof were given in the margin, to be current at the rates set forth in the Proclamation dated on the 9th of October in the second year of her Majesty's reign. But every one might receive, at the Tower of London, for his foreign Coins, fully as much Money in Gold or Silver of the fine Coins of the realm, as the same should hold in Gold or Silver.

And it was further made known, that of late a foreign piece of Gold, printed like an English Angel, had been brought into the realm, and was paid for ten Shillings of Silver, being not worth nine Shillings and three Pence, and for distinguishing the same, the prints of the English Angel, and of the other, were given in the margin.

The Coins which were made current by this Proclamation were struck by virtue of the indenture of the 8th of November 1560; and the Sixpence and Threepence, together with the new pieces, which were now first coined, had a full blown rose placed behind the Queen's head, and the date 1561 over the shield of arms on the Reverse, by which they were easily distinguishable from the other Coins.

A Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. The English Angel is a Coin of Henry VIII. with H and a Rose under the arms of the Cross on the Reverse. The counterfeit Angels are one of Tournay with M. B. the other of Holland with W. A placed in the same manner on the Reverse.

which they nearly resembled in size. The other pieces thus marked, were the Three Halfpence, and the Three Farthings<sup>u</sup>.

These were all of hammered Money; but at some time in this year the mill and screw<sup>x</sup> were first in-

<sup>u</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XII. Nos 14, 16, 20, and 24. Shakspeare alludes to the last of these Coins in his historical play of King John. He there introduces the Bastard Paulinbridge thus ridiculing the meagre countenance of his father's legitimate son, first by comparing it to an half-faced Groat,

"Because he hath an half-face, like my father;

With that half-face would he have all my land:

A half-faced Groat five hundred pound a year."

And afterwards more contemptuously exclaims, that if he had the land, together with his brother's shape,

"my face so thin,

That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,

Lest men should say, look, where three Farthings goes," he would give every foot of it to have his own face again!"

King John, act 1. scene 1.

In the *Scornful Lady*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, is a passage which not only shews the difference between the Penny and the three Farthings piece, but also informs us of a knavish trick then commonly practised to impose the lesser of these Coins upon heedless people for the other, and likewise the punishment for that crime. Speaking of Morecraft the usurer, the stammering Loreless says,

"He had a bastard, his own toward issue,

Whip'd and then crop'd, for washing out the roses

In three Farthings, to make them Pence."

Mr. Folkes says, he had seen a broad Groat, upon which a counterfeit Rose had been attempted, probably to make it look like a Sixpenny piece, and to pass it for such. [Table of English Silver Coins, p. 53 note \*.]

\* This improvement in the mode of Coining is said by Le Blanc, who calls the instrument Balancier, to have been invented in the reign of King Henry II. of France, and that the machine was first worked in a Mint erected for that purpose in the garden of the Bath, where it was established in the month

introduced into the Mint. The invention was brought into England by a Frenchman<sup>y</sup>, who was encouraged by the Queen and Council, and coined milled Money in the Tower, but being detected in counterfeiting and making milled Money, also out of the Mint, he was executed as a traitor<sup>z</sup>.

1561-2. On the 30th of January a Proclamation was issued against those who had raised vain and untrue rumours, in and about the City of London,

of July 1553, with the other Mints, and regulations were framed for its government, and for its officers, and that there were coined in it no other Money but Testons and Demi Testons. [*Le Blanc, Traité Hist. des Monnoyes de France, p. 288.*]

According to Du Fresno, the ordinance for the establishment of this Mint (which he calls Moneta Melendinaria, or la Monnoie du Molin) was dated at Blesis January 27th, 1550, and was fixed in the house of the Baths at Paris, which in his time was called la Place Dauphine. In this Mint, he says, were struck Grossi Testones (Gros Testons) with a crescent, and this inscription, *DYN ROTVM ANGLIAR ORBEM*, and also other Coins similar to those which were coined by the old method. [*Glossary sub voce Moneta, column 967.*] He says, further, that these Grossi Testones were struck in this Mint by virtue of an edict dated January 20th, 1554. He has not, however, given any representation of them, and that which is engraved in *Le Blanc's Plate*, page 268, is dated 1552, and has *COMPLEAT* instead of *IMPLEAT*.

The use of this machine was not of long continuance in the French Mints, where the working of it was forbidden by an edict of Henry III. in the month of September 1585. The mill was again established by Louis XIII. in an edict dated in December 1639. [*Boissard Traité des Monnoyes, vol. I. p. 158. quoted by Leake, p. 248.*]

<sup>y</sup> Folkes says it is reported that this Frenchman was Philip Martrolle, who was executed at Tyburn in 1569. The Christian name of the Frenchman who introduced the mill and screw into the Mint was Eloye. See under the year 1572.

<sup>z</sup> Answer of the Moniers to Blondeau, folio, 1653, p. 31.

touching a decree of Money, which had been continued but increased; with a daily expectation thereof at every market-day, to the satisfaction only of a sort of covetous persons, who thereby enhanced the prices of their wares (and through such reports were therefore forbidden on pain of imprisonment, and further punishment provided by the laws.

And all Officers having authority to the wizes of victual, and order of markets, were commanded to extend their power forthwith to reduce the prices of all victual to what it was, or ought to have been, before those rumours were spread abroad.

The former Proclamations to prevent the spreading of rumours respecting the decree of the Money having proved ineffectual, and the universal expectation of that event being so deeply settled in men's heads, that the prices of things were greatly enhanced; and as until the Money was brought to the value at which they were intended, and ought to be, not only the meaner sort of people, as labourers, &c. but also all serving-men, soldiers, &c. living only by pensions and wages, would be painfully oppressed, her Majesty was induced to make a final end, and to fix the value of the Coins current in the realm, at the following rates by Proclamation, to commence from the 4th of March, the date of the issuing thereof. Which rates were then declared to be those at which they were current since the 6th of Edward IV. and so on until the 16th of Henry VIII.

#### Fine Gold.

Sovereign was current for 8s. Current at 2s. 6d. Royall - - - - -

a Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

Angel was current for 10s. Current in future at 6s. 8d.  
 Half-Angel - 5s. - 3s. 4d.

### Crown Gold.

Sovereign was current for 20s. Current in future at 13s. 4d.

Half-Sovereign - 10s. - 6s. 8d.

Crown - 5s. - 3s. 4d.

Half-Crown - 2s. 6d. - 1s. 8d.

### Strange Gold.

French Crown was current for 6s. Current in future at 4s.

Burgundian - 6s. - 4s.

### Silver fine Sterling.

Shilling was current for 12d. Current in future at 8d.

Half-Shilling - 6d. - 4d.

Quarter-Shilling - 3d. - 2d.

Three Halfpence - 1d. ob. - 1d.

Three Farthings - ob. q. - ob.

As the Groats, Half-Groats, and Pennies, could not be reduced in value one by one, it was further ordered, that three Groats should be current for eight Pence, and so of the rest. And because the quantity of them was not great, and yet cumbersome to the people to pay one by one, her Majesty was pleased, between the end of the next month and November following, to deliver at her Mint, for every of the said three pieces, as much fine Money as the same was valued by Proclamation<sup>b</sup>.

As the rumours that the Coins were to be still further decried still continued, her Majesty issued another Proclamation, dated on the 13th of the same month, in which she declared that the rumours were untrue, and that she did not determine to alter or decry her Monies. All persons who presumed to spread such reports after the issuing of the Proclamation, were to be imprisoned without

<sup>b</sup> MS Proclamation in the Antiquary Society's Library, in a coeval hand.

bail or mainprize for three months; and, being thereof duly convicted, were to be set openly upon the pillory, as persons who had spread seditious rumours, and were not to be delivered until they should have found sufficient assurance of good abearing. And all persons who should be convicted of hearing the same, without informing the next Justice of the Peace with convenient speed, were to be committed to prison for one month, as maintainers of seditious persons, and to be further punished at the discretion of the Justice by whom they were committed.

Justices of the Peace, and other Officers, were ordered to take care for the furniture of markets with victuals and grain, and to punish the withholders or enhancers of the same; or, if the enormity of the offender should seem to require it, to send him for punishment to the Privy Council. In which, if the Justices, &c. should fail, her Majesty would take care that their defaults be supplied by severe punishment<sup>c</sup>.

These harsh measures, it is probable, put an end to the seditious rumours, as nothing appears upon record concerning them after this time.

1562-3. In the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 12th of January in this year, an Act was passed to prevent the diminishing of the Coins. It stated, in the preamble, that whereas the offences of clipping, rounding, washing, and filing of Monies or Coins of the realm, were declared by an Act of Parliament, in the time of King Henry V.

<sup>c</sup> Proclamation in the same Library.

<sup>d</sup> Statute 3 H. V. cap. 11.



to be treason to the King and the realm, and, according to the said Act, the same offences were and did continue treason until the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, at which time the pains and penalties due for the said offences were abrogated and taken away by the General Act of Repeal then made<sup>e</sup>; by reason whereof divers false and evil-disposed persons, perceiving themselves to be loose, and free from the severity and danger of the said law and penalty, had been of late the more hardy and bold to attempt and practise, for wicked lucre and gain's sake, to diminish, impair, and falsify the Monies and Coins current within the realm, and the dominions of the same, by such clipping, washing, rounding, and filing, thereof, not only to the great dishonour of the Queen's Majesty (by whose great goodness the new Monies or Coins of the same had been reduced to as much fineness as ever had been in any time of her noble progenitors) but also to the great loss and damage of the good subjects of the realm; it was therefore enacted, that from and after the first day of May next coming, it should be treason to clip, wash, round, or file any of the proper Monies or Coins of the realm, or of any other realm allowed and suffered to be current within the realm; and that the offenders should, on conviction, suffer pains of death, with loss of goods and chattels, and also of lands and tenements, during their natural lives only. These offences, however, were not to make any corruption of blood to the heirs of such offenders, nor forfeiture of dower<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Statute 1 Mary, Sess. 1, cap. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Statute 5 Eliz. cap. 11.



1563. In October, says Stow, London was visited with a threefold plague; pestilence, scarcity of Money, and dearth of victuals, and Michaelmas term was not kept.<sup>g</sup>

1565. A Proclamation, which was issued upon the first of June in her 7th year, referred to the caution that was given on the 15th of November, 1561, respecting a foreign piece of Gold resembling the English Angel, but not worth more than nine Shillings and three Pence; and then proceeded to state, that her Majesty understood that other foreign pieces of Gold were then uttered, like to the English Angel, but of less value than that abovementioned, being for lack of weight, and baseness of allay, not worth seven Shillings, though paid for ten Shillings of Silver; and therefore that she had thought fit eftsóons to give notice thereof, that her subjects might either utterly forbear to receive any such foreign Angels, or else take them according to their weight as Bullion, and bring them to the Mint, where they should have ready Money in Gold or Silver, at their pleasure, according to the true value.

Her Majesty likewise warned her subjects not to receive any manner of foreign Coin of Gold or Silver, not being valued by publick authority, and well known, on account of the great loss they might sustain, but to receive them only as Bullion, according to their fineness and weight.<sup>h</sup>

All attempts to prevent the importation of Gold Coins which resembled those of the realm, but were of inferior value, seem to have been ineffectual;

<sup>g</sup> Stow's Chronicle, p. 656, as quoted in Parliamentary History, vol. IV. p. 52.

<sup>h</sup> Harl. MSS. 38. folio 226.

for, on the first of December, another Proclamation gave notice, that foreign Coins, like the Royals of Gold, of ten Shillings, but less both in weight and fineness, were brought in great quantities into the realm. And all persons were commanded not to utter them, (nor the counterfeit Angels just before mentioned in the former Proclamation of the 1st of June, nor any other like to any piece of Coin of Gold or Silver allowed to be current Money in this realm) but only to sell or change them at the Mint, or to use them as Bullion, on pain of imprisonment, until her Majesty's express pleasure should be known. This Proclamation might be reviv'd, without further notice, if the Queen's Sheriffs, &c. should perceive any new attempts to introduce those or other foreign Coins, for the purpose of deception, into the realm.

Another Proclamation, to the same effect, is dated upon the fifth of that month.

1568. On the 17th of January, Philippe Mestrell, a Frenchman, and two Englishmen, were drawne from Newgate to Tyborne, and there hanged. The Frenchman was quartered, who had coined Gold counterfeit; the Englishmen, the one had clipped Silver, the other had cast Testons of tin.

1569. During the great scarcity of Money in this year, Sir Thomas Gresham advised her Majesty

to Dyson & Books, as before.

the Angel and Royal, both genuine and counterfeit, are given in the margins of these Proclamations. The counterfeit Royal is of the Emperor Henry, the genuine of Henry VIII.

1: Coopers Chronicle, fig. F. ii. b. See also Hohnshed and  
Stow.

Statute 13 Eliz. c. 10, § 1. (Hamm's Int. Cl. Stat. c. 13, § 10, c. 10, § 1.)

(through Secretary Cecil who then managed the Exchequer) to coin into current Money twenty or thirty thousand Ducats, which a Genoese merchant, named Regio, and certain of his friends, had in the Queen's hands in the Tower. By this she would be a gainer three or four thousand Pounds, and enrich her realm with so much fine Silver, and for re-payment, it might be made by way of exchange, to her great profit; or she might take it up of the said merchants upon interest for a year or two, which he thought they would be glad of. This Money would pay her debts both at home and in Flanders, to her great honour and credit through Christendom. And further to recommend this advice by his own example, in September he sent into the Mint at the Tower five sacks of new Spanish Royals, to be coined for the use of the Queen, each sack weighing nine hundred seventy-two pounds eleven ounces, at four Shillings ten Pence Farthing the ounce.

It should seem that this advice was not followed, her Majesty preferring to borrow Money rather of her own subjects than of foreigners, which she did in November and December following, for six months, at six per cent. interest for that time.

1571. By a Statute of her 13th year, the lands, &c. of the Officers of the Mint were made liable to satisfy arrears due to the Queen, her heirs, and successors. Another chapter of the same, repealed

Ward's Gresham Professors, p. 15.

Id. p. 16. Ten years before this her Majesty was not so scrupulous, for Gresham was then employed to borrow for her £200,000 at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the Coinage. [Hume's Hist. of England, vol. V. p. 496.]

° Statute 13 Eliz. cap. 4.

the Statute of 5 and 6 of Edward VI. which absolutely forbade usury, and revived that of the 37th of Henry VIII. which limited interest of Money to 10 per cent. <sup>p</sup>

1572. On the 19th of April an Indenture was made with John Lonison, in which the Groats, Half Groats, and the Pennies mentioned in former indentures, were omitted, and he covenanted to coin only three Monies of Gold, of the old standard, viz. Angels, at 10 Shillings apiece, and 72 in the pound troy, and Angelets and Quarter Angels in proportion; and four Monies of Silver, of old sterling, viz. Half Shillings, at six Pence apiece, and 120 in the pound troy, and Threepences, Three Halfpenny pieces, and Three Farthing pieces in proportion. The pound of Gold to be coined into thirty-six Pounds by tale, and the pound of Silver into three Pounds, as in the Indenture of her second year <sup>q</sup>.

In the preamble to an Act, against forging and counterfeiting foreign Coin not current within the realm, which was made in the Parliament holden at Westminster on the 8th of May, in her fourteenth year, it was stated, that because by the Laws or Statutes of the realm small or no condign punishment was at that time provided for such evil-disposed persons as should counterfeit or forge such kind of Gold or Silver, of other realms, not current in payment within the realm, by reason whereof divers evil-disposed persons, as well without the

<sup>p</sup> Statute 13<sup>th</sup> Eliz. cap. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Harl. MS. 696, folio 1. For every 100 pounds of Silver he was to make six pounds of small Money, viz. 4 pounds of Three Halfpennies, and two pounds of Three Farthings.

realm as within, were encouraged and emboldened daily to counterfeit or forge such kind of Gold and Silver, and utter the same within the realm, in great deceit of her Majesty's subjects. It was therefore enacted that such offence should from that time be deemed and adjudged misprision of treason, and the offenders, on conviction, suffer imprisonment, with forfeiture of such lands, goods, and chattels, as in cases of misprision of treason, for concealment of high treason.

The Mill and Screw which were introduced into the Mint in the year 1561, were either imperfectly constructed, or, what is equally probable, the Officers of the Mint were prejudiced against the use of them, for, on the 25th of August, Sir Richard Martyn, then Warden, reported that the machine for coining invented by Eloye Mestrell had, upon repeated trials, been found defective. These trials were made in the presence of Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Auditor.

No account having been given in by the Master of the Mint from the time of King Edward VI. and during the reign of Queen Mary, until the 15th year of Elizabeth, Commissioners were appointed on the 12th of January, 1572-3, to receive such account from Mr. Thomas Stanley, then Master, and to cause all arrears to be paid into the Exchequer, and to give proper acquittances.

The Commissioners had likewise authority to

<sup>r</sup> Statute 14 Eliz. cap. 3. It was made treason to forge the Coins of other realms current in the kingdom, by Stat. 1 Mary, 2. cap. 6.

MS. A. 1. 1. Lansdowne, MSS. No. 5. Indorsed, Lonison and Martyn and my L. touching Eloy Mestrell.

called before them the Master, Wardens, and other Officers of the Goldsmiths' Company, and to enquire whether they had complied with the standard for Gold and Silver wares appointed by King Henry VIII. and to impose a fine upon them if they had not. They were also to take security from them, that in future no Gold wares should be of less fineness than twenty-two carats out of the fire, and Silver wares eleven ounces two pennyweights.

It was further ordered, that no person should make Plate, &c. without first giving security to the Goldsmiths' Company for the true making thereof. And power was given to the Commissioners to punish offenders, by imprisonment, fine, &c. during the continuance of the Commission, which was limited to the Christmas next ensuing.

1574. It has been seen before that Pennies were not mentioned in the Indenture of the 19th of April, 1572. That omission was afterward supplied by a particular Commission, (dated on the 2d of April, 1574,) which authorized Louison, Master of the Mint, to make and strike into print one piece of Silver Money, to be called the single Penny, running for one Penny sterling. At 11 ounces 2 pennyweights fine, and 720 to the pound weight. To be printed with the Queen's picture, arms, and scriptures, as by her Majesty's appointment had heretofore been used. Ten pounds weight to be made yearly of such Money, and no more.

The use of private Tokens for Money, which were stamped by inferior tradesmen, such as grocers, vintners, chandlers, alehouse-keepers, &c. was at

this time grown into such excess as to be the subject of frequent complaints. They were made of Lead, Tin, Latten, and even of Leather. Of these base materials were formed Farthings and Halfpence, to the great denigration of the princely honour and dignity, and as great loss to the poor, since they were only to be repaid to the same shop from whence they were first received. Of this abuse the Queen was very sensible, as also that there was a great want of Farthings and Halfpence. To remedy these wants and disorders, proposals were made to her for coining Farthings and Halfpence of base Silver, 7 ounces 16 grains fine, and 4 ounces 13 pennyweight 8 grains alloy, the weight 6 grains and 12 grains, but the Queen would by no means give ear to embasing the Coins again.

new scheme had stood more need and it was

10 The Report, which Budelius mentions, that Lead Money was current amongst the English, at the time he was writing his Treatise on Money, was probably founded upon the circulation of these Tokens. [De Monetis and Re Numaria, Libri duo, Autore R. Hudelio, in Colon. Agrippinae, 1691, page 5.] See A

10 Snelling's View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England p. 2. "The projectors of this scheme were Mr. Wickliffe and

Mr. Humphry, as appears from a paper drawn up in defence of these proposals, and addressed (as we think) to Lord Burleigh. And from a letter of Sir Richard Martin to the said Lord, dated Oct. 1, 1576. [Collect. of Papers on Exchange, &c. MS. p. 148, 149.] we learn that they were offered in 1574. Had this Coinage taken place, the pound troy of fine Silver would have been coined into no more than £3. 5s. 5½d. exceeding that of the Queen's Silver Money but by seven Pence Farthing; and therefore preferable by far to the Copper Tokens which were so near taking effect soon after, wherein eleven Shillings and six Pence per pound weight were to be allowed for expenses of Coinage, but the very name of *Base Money*, and the remembrance of the confusion lately occasioned by it, was the reason, it is probable, of its not being attended to." [Snelling's note.] I do not under-



It does not appear probable that a proposal so displeasing to the Queen would ever be renewed, and therefore it must be presumed, that at this time a question was stated to Martin, Warden of the Mint, respecting the coining of Farthings: whether to make them of Silver, of Silver debased, or Copper, though Leake represents it to have happened much later in her reign. Martin's Report was, that if they were of Silver, of the standard of the other Coins, the pieces would be only two grains, neither conveniently coined nor handled for payment. If they were increased by a base standard to six grains, which was the smallest they conveniently could be, then there would be eighty in every ounce, and in every pound nine hundred and sixty, and would be current for twenty Shillings. The workmanship would cost two Shillings and eight Pence the pound weight. The small quantity of Silver would make no show, and would be clearly lost, and as easily counterfeited as if they were only Copper. But if made of Copper, they might be faithfully made of one pennyweight the piece, two hundred and forty in the pound, and be current for five

stand what Snelling means by the remark, above stated, upon the difference between the projected base Money and the Queen's Silver Coins. By the Indenture of the 19th of April, 1578, the pound of standard Silver was to be shorn into three Pounds by tale, therefore the base Money appears to have been intended to exceed it by five Shillings and five Pence Halfpenny in the pound weight.

Leake's words are, "Queen Elizabeth, it seems, had it under consideration before her death, and the question was stated to Martin." By these words I understand him to intend some little time before her death, but they are not to be found in Stow, whose authority he quotes; for he says only in her reign.



Shillings. These would be apt for use, and of infinite continuance, and in them there was no precedent of embasing<sup>a</sup>.

Other proposals were made to the Queen, probably about the same time, to coin Copper Pledges for Farthings and Halfpence, the first to weigh twelve grains, and the other twenty-four; by which the pound weight Troy would be coined into ten Shillings:

These proposals were so far approved of, that a Proclamation was drawn up to make them current: It began with stating, that her Majesty had, in the beginning of her reign, restored the Money from gross and base matter unto fine Gold and fine Silver, which by God's favour she intended to continue and maintain. Yet because, according to the rate and division of the Silver Money, no smaller Coins could be made thereof, than a Penny or Three Farthings, and that her Majesty had been informed that her subjects had need of smaller Monies, Halfpence and Farthings, and chiefly that the poor sustained great loss for want thereof:

Her Majesty, intending to remedy the same, had received divers devices for making such small Monies, and also complaints against the Tokens of Lead and Tin, generally coined and uttered, instead of such small Monies, by grocers, vintners, chandlers, and alehouse-keepers, and divers other persons. But as all those devices tended to the breach of the fine standard of the Coin, in such small Monies, they had been rejected by her Majesty. Nevertheless,

<sup>a</sup> Leake, p. 258, quoting Strype's Stow, b. 1. ch. 18. p. 102. Stow says, this proposal for a Copper Coinage was made by Martin and Palmer.

her Majesty being willing to remedy the disorders arising from these Tokens, did by that Proclamation forbid the making or using any such after the Feast of All Saints next ensuing, without special warrant and commission from her Majesty, on pain of imprisonment for one year, and such fines as should be settled by the Privy Council in the Star Chamber. And that, for the ease of her subjects, her Majesty had taken order, that, by her authority, Pledges or Tokens should be made, of pure and fine Copper, of Halfpence and Farthings, whereof every Pledge of an Halfpenny should weigh twenty-four grains, and that of the Farthing twelve grains. And that such cost and charge should be employed thereon as that any, so evil-disposed, should hardly attain to counterfeit the same. And yet more surely to avoid such counterfeiting, her Majesty did, in that respect, and not otherwise, as well rate and value, by authority of the same Proclamation, those Pledges to pass in the place of Halfpennies and Farthings, as also to be made with the name of her Coin, and to be current throughout her dominions, from the said Feast of All Saints. And all persons were commanded to receive the same in all payments not exceeding twenty Shillings, provided that, in such sum of twenty Shillings, or under, there should not be more than one Great in value of such Pledges.

And for the further ease and use of her loving subjects, and to preserve all the Monies of Gold and Silver truly and uprightly to their standards, according to the Ordinances made in the Mint, her Majesty declared that she would presently take order that there should be coined a competent number of

Pence of the fine standard; and that, before the said Feast of All Saints, she would appoint especial workmen to make only so many of the said Pledges as she should think necessary for the use of her people; and that she would appoint her especial officer to be resident in some notorious place in the City of London, to make exchange, two parts in the said Silver Pence, and a third part in the said Pledges, her Majesty's intent being to take away the private Tokens, which, without prejudice to her royal estate and dignity, she could no longer endure, and that her subjects should instead thereof have far more convenient pledge, universally payable in all petit payments and receipts, and specially in changing of Three-pences, Three-halfpences, and such like, in all places throughout all her realms and dominions.

It is apprehended that this Proclamation was never published, nor did the Coinage spoken of in it ever take place; all that was done seems to have

Proclamation. Harl. MSS. 698. p. 117. Snelling's Copper Coinage, Appendix, No 1. There is no date to it, but it certainly was intended to be published between the years 1576 and 1582, for Lord Burleigh's letter (just mentioned) to Sir Richard Martin concerning these Tokens, is dated Sept. 30, 1576, and the Coinage of the Silver Halfpennies did not take place until the last-mentioned year. [Snelling's note, Copper Coinage, p. 3, note (f.)]

There are several mistakes in this note, which make it doubtful whether Snelling be right in the date which he has assumed.

No letter has been mentioned by him from Lord Burleigh to Martin, but one from Martin to Lord Burleigh, which is not, however, upon the subject of these pledges, but, as he states it in note 1, page 2, in defence of a proposal for coining base Silver Halfpence, and Farthings. No Silver Halfpennies are specified in the Proclamation as intended to be coined, but Pennies are spoken of.

to Edmund ...

been the sinking a Die, and striking off some pieces as patterns. That for the Farthing has not yet occurred; but a few for the Halfpenny are known both in Silver and Copper; they are very scarce<sup>c</sup>.

It was probably upon the failure of this project, that the Queen granted a license to the City of Bristol to coin Tokens; which were made of Copper, with a ship on one side and c. B. on the other, signifying Civitas Bristol. They went current in that city, and ten miles about, for small things<sup>d</sup>.

1575-6. By a Statute made in the Parliament which was held by prorogation on the eighth of February in her eighteenth year, it was declared to be high treason, but without corruption of blood or forfeiture of dower, to impair, diminish, falsify, scale, or lighten, by any art, ways, or means whatsoever, the proper Monies or Coins of the realm, or of any other realms allowed and suffered to be current, at the time of the offence committed, within the realm of England, or any the dominions of the same, by the Proclamation of the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors. This Statute was to take effect upon the 1st of April following, and was occasioned by the advantage which had been taken under that passed in her fifth year<sup>e</sup> against clipping, washing, rounding, and filing of Coins, which, being a penal Statute, was obliged to be taken and expounded strictly according to the words thereof, by

<sup>c</sup> Snelling's Copper Coinage, p. 3. See Silver Coins, Plate XV. No 11. No 10 is a pledge of the same kind for a Penny, dated 1601.

<sup>d</sup> Malyne's Lex Mercatoria, p. 194. See the account of the Mint at Bristol.

<sup>e</sup> Statute 5 Eliz. cap. 11

which means other similar offences, had been devised and practised, and could not be punished by that Statute <sup>f</sup>.

In the same Parliament the abuses in Goldsmiths' work were taken into consideration; and it was enacted, that, after the 20th of April, no Goldsmith should work, sell, or exchange, or cause to be worked, &c. &c. any wares of Gold less in fineness than two and twenty carats, and that he should use no sother, amell, or other stuffings whatsoever, more than should be necessary, and that he should not take above the rate of twelve Pence for the ounce of Gold, besides the fashion, more than the buyer should or might be allowed for the same at the Queen's Exchange or Mint, upon pain to forfeit the value of the thing so sold or exchanged.

That he should not put to sale any wares, &c. of Silver before he should have set his own mark thereon, to so much as might conveniently bear it, upon pain of forfeiture of the same.

And if in any Goldsmiths' wares, &c. touched, marked, and allowed for good by the Wardens and Corporation of that mystery, after the said 20th of April, there should be found any falshood or deceit, then the Wardens and Corporation of that mystery, for the time being, should forfeit the value of the said wares, &c. <sup>g</sup>

Great abuses, it seems, had of late years grown by the corrupt dealing of sundry Merchants and Brokers, as well strangers as English, upon bargains of exchanges and rechanges. By which not only the good, laudable, and profitable use of natural mer-

<sup>f</sup> Statute 18 Eliz. cap. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Statute 18 Eliz. cap. 15.

chandizing, were greatly decayed, the true values of the Monies of the realm were much abased, and the Customs and Subsidies diminished and withdrawn, with sundry other inconveniences.

1576. Her Majesty therefore gave notice, by Proclamation on the 20th of September, that the Laws and Statutes formerly made for the regulation of Exchanges would be put in execution.

And for the lawful satisfaction of all such as should have necessary cause to take or deliver any Money by exchange, there should be certain orders in writing set up in places convenient, declaring the rates thereof, as the same should and ought to be paid to the use of her Majesty, or to her Ministers and Officers thereto authorized.

By these orders, the payment of one Penny for the exchange of every Noble, both by the deliverer and the taker, was reduced to one Farthing by each <sup>lb</sup>.

1577. In the next year was an Indenture with Lonison, Master of the Mint, for Gold and Silver of the old standard, precisely upon the same terms as that which was made with him in the 14th year of the Queen<sup>i</sup>.

The offences of counterfeiting and diminishing the Coins still continued to be practised, notwithstanding the precautions which had been taken to prevent them; for in this year Richard Robinson, goldsmith, was drawn from the Tower of London to Tyborne, and there hanged, for clipping of Gold <sup>k</sup>; and in this year, or the next, John de Ley, or Loy,

<sup>b</sup> Harl, MSS. 38, folio 227. See the orders, at length, in the History of Exchanges, sub anno.

<sup>i</sup> Lowndes, page 50.

<sup>k</sup> Holinshed, vol. II. p. 1270. Stow, p. 1190.

a Frenchman, and five English gentlemen, were conveyed from the Tower toward Norwich, there to be arraigned and executed, for coining Money counterfeit<sup>l</sup>.

In Ireland these practices were, in one particular instance, carried on in open defiance of Government.

1578. The Province of Connaught was in some part troubled, by means of Orwarke, captain of his surname, in whose country were certain Coiners of Money, and maintained by him. The Colonel understanding thereof, he sent unto Orwarke for them, who denied to deliver any of them; wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolence, he sent a private band of footmen, who distressed Orwarke, slew his men, took his castle, and put all the ward to the sword. Whereupon he came with all humility, and submitted himself, and craved pardon<sup>m</sup>.

In the same year a Commission was made out, dated upon the 19th of December, by which Lonison, Master of the Mint, was again directed to add Pennies to the other pieces. By this Commission it appears, that notwithstanding all the Queen's Indentures were for Silver Money of the old standard, there was, however, about this time, a small deviation from the same, besides an allowance to coin the several pieces a small matter lighter than those Indentures required. For it is therein set forth, after reciting the Indenture made with Lonison, the 19th of April, 14 Elizabeth, that the Queen, for great

<sup>l</sup> Holinshed, vol. II. p. 1271. an. 1577. Stow, p. 1198. an. 1578.

<sup>m</sup> Holinshed, vol. I. Chronicle of Ireland, p. 149. The Colonel's name is not given by Holinshed.



and urgent causes her thereunto moving, minding for a short time to tolerate some alteration from the express words of the said Indenture, authorized the said Lonison to make, besides the sort of Money thereby appointed to be coined, Pennies 720 to the pound, and to make the Gold of the fineness of 23 carats 3 grains and one fourth, and the Silver of the standard of 11 ounces 1 pennyweight; and to shere the Gold at £36. 1s. 10½d. and the Silver at 60 Shillings and 3 Pence, the pound weight; Remedy, one eighth of a carat, and two pennyweights, as usual, &c. Which Commission was to extend to no Bullion that should be taken in after the 24th day of April then next ensuing: but like Commissions were, however, renewed after this from time to time." <sup>a</sup>

Besides this variation from the Indenture, which was authorized by her Majesty, it appears that Lonison had, for some years, coined the Money, in weight and fineness, six Pence Farthing in the pound weight under the standard. He was accused of this by Martyn, the Warden of the Mint, and an especial Commission was appointed to inquire into the case. The Commissioners made their report upon the 24th of May in this year, in which they recommended to the Queen to give him a discharge for what was past (because he thought he was acting in conformity with the terms of his Indenture, and

<sup>a</sup> Folkes's Table of Silver Coins, p. 55 note \*. I know not why the Indenture of her 14th year is here referred to, in preference of that of her 19th year, which was exactly in the same terms, and so much nearer in point of time. The provisions of this commission detract very much from the merit which Elizabeth always assumed from the restoration of the old standard.



because the prosecution of the suit had been very chargeable to him), and that he might pass his account.

Also that the Warden Richard Martyn might have a discharge for passing such account. And they gave it as their opinion, that Martyn, in the controversy, had done nothing for his own benefit, but for her Majesty's, and to discharge his duty as Warden.

If her Majesty should allow this, then the Indentures to be renewed.

In consideration of Lonison's complaint, that fourteen Pence Farthing upon the pound weight were too little to bear all his charges, the Commissioners recommended to her Majesty to advance the same to fifteen Pence; and if Lonison should not accept that allowance, and the discharge for what was past, then the Queen to appoint another officer; but Lonison, in consideration of his services, to have a pension of three hundred Pounds *per annum* for his life, and one hundred Pounds *per annum* to his wife after his decease, during her life, out of the Coinage\*.

1580. It appears, from a letter addressed by

\* Report and Opinion of the Lords and others her Majesty's Commissioners touching the controversy in the Mint causes. Harl. MSS. 698. p. 204. Signed, Nicholas Bacon, Will. Burgley, Tho. Sussex, Robert Leceister, Christopher Hatton, Fra. Walsingham, Walter Mildmay. From the abstract of an account which was made out by the Warden, it appears that the profits arising from this debasement of the Gold and Silver Coins, and from the difference of the shere, amounted, during a space of little more than four years, that is from the 19th of April 1572 to the last day of July 1576, to no less a sum than £6,757. 5s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Harl. MSS. 698. p. 115.

Richard Martyn, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, dated June 1580, that the current Coins, both foreign and her Majesty's, were greatly counterfeited. Eight persons had been apprehended for counterfeiting the foreign Money; and four more were in prison for skaling her Majesty's Coins, ~~giving~~ <sup>giving</sup> Runcheons for Sixpences, and being privy to the making false Stivers<sup>p</sup>. In the month of December following, Bull, a Monier of the Mint, and one Alsop, were taken for coining false Angels of sixty Shillings the ounce; and in February seven persons were apprehended for skaling, and for counterfeiting Sixpences, two of whom had been before apprehended in June 1581. In her 23d year was issued a Commission, similar to that of her 21st, dated upon the 25th of May, and to continue in force to the last day of October next following; and it appears that another was dated upon the 22d of August in this year, which endured only three months<sup>r</sup>. Leake, who is my authority for this Commission, does not give the weight or fineness of the Coins to be made by it, but only the quantity actually coined, with the deduction for Coinage; so that it does not appear whether any departure from the terms of the Indenture was authorized by this, as by the former, or not. Indeed I rather suspect some inaccuracy in his statement, as the time to which he limits this Commission, three months, would make it run for two months, that is, through September and October, with the preceding Commission of the 25th of May,

<sup>p</sup> Harleian MSS. 698. p. 269.

<sup>q</sup> Id. *ibid*.

<sup>r</sup> Folkes, page 56, note.

<sup>s</sup> Leake, page 260.

1582. Another Commission to Sir Richard Martyn was granted on the 23d of May in this year; "wherein it is set forth, (after reciting that the Queen had granted the like Commission upon the 25th of May, 'regni 23<sup>o</sup>, to continue in force to the last of October then next following,) that she, being minded for some time longer to tolerate the same alterations, gives this Commission every way the same, to continue to the last of November then next coming<sup>t</sup>.

1582-3. In her 25th year, Richard Martin covenanted to coin Gold and Silver according to the standard of the Indenture of her 19th year, and in any of the denominations mentioned in the same<sup>u</sup>.

But on the 30th of January, in that year, a new Indenture was made with Sir Richard Martin, Master and Worker of the Monies, by which he covenanted to coin the pound weight troy of standard Gold into seventy-two Angels at ten Shillings apiece, with halves and quarters in proportion, and that every pound should contain by tale thirty-six pounds. The pound weight of Silver of the old standard he agreed to coin into sixty Shillings, or a proportionate number of Six-pences, Two-pences, Pence, or Half-pence<sup>x</sup>.

By this instrument, the pieces of three Pennies, three Halfpennies, and three Farthings, were all

<sup>t</sup> Folkes, page 56, note. In this year a man was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for clipping Money, and his quarters were set on the four gates of Chester. [King's Vale Royal, p. 204.]

<sup>u</sup> Lowndes, page 51.

<sup>x</sup> Indenture, MS. penes G. Chalmers, Arm.<sup>2</sup> The date, which is there omitted, is given from Folkes, page 57.

laid aside; and the Halfpenny was first coined in this reign.

1583-4. In this year also he was authorized, by Commission, to coin the pound troy of old standard Gold into forty-eight Nobles at fifteen Shillings apiece, or twenty-four Double-Nobles at thirty Shillings each, making thirty-six Pounds <sup>y</sup>.

1586. It was probably about this year, when the Queen sent the Earl of Leicester to assist the Dutch, that some of her Coins, both Gold and Silver, were countermarked with a stamp of the arms of Zealand, to give them currency in the Low Countries<sup>z</sup>. Leake says that he had seen an Angel of Henry VI. so marked, and that it was done in the reign of Elizabeth, for the purpose above-mentioned<sup>a</sup>.

In this year an Irish Statute was made against forging and counterfeiting foreign Coins. It referred to Statute 14 Eliz. chap. iii. of which it was indeed a copy.

1587. On the 12th of October, in her 29th year, a Proclamation was issued, for reforming the deceits in diminishing the value of the Coins of Gold current within the Queen's Majesty's Domi-

<sup>y</sup> Lowndes, page 51.

<sup>z</sup> Folkes, page 59. See Silver Coins, Plate XV. Nos 2 and 4. Du Chesne says, that the States of Zelande struck, in 1585, in memory of Queen Elizabeth's protection, Coins of Silver and Copper, bearing on the Obverse the arms of Zelande LUCTOR ET EMERGO; and on the other side, AUTORE DEO, FAVENTE REGINA, to signify that by the assistance of God, and the favour of the Queen, the lion of Zelande was freed from the waves of the sea. [Histoire Generale D'Angleterre, D'Escosse, & D'Irlanda, p. 1385.] See the Medal here alluded to in Evelyn's Discourse of Medals, page 96. It bears the date of 1586.

<sup>a</sup> Leake, page 184. There is one in the British Museum.

nions, and for remedying the losses that might grow by receiving thereof, being diminished. From which it appears that English Gold Coins, and also foreign Money current in the realm, were exported into foreign countries, and there diminished; and that it was afterwards returned, and paid in lieu of lawful Money. Others of them were embased, by clipping, sawthering, or other unlawful practices, of their due fineness; and many were counterfeited abroad.

It was therefore ordered that, after the above-mentioned date, no person should take, receive, or deliver in payment, any false counterfeit pieces of any Coin of Gold current within the realm<sup>b</sup>, or any piece of the same, being southered, or otherwise unlawfully debased, or lacking of the just weight thereof, over the Remedies and Abatements hereafter severally expressed, and to be allowed in that behalf.

And all persons to whom such Coins should be offered were authorized not only to refuse them, but also to strike a hole at their pleasure in every such piece, and to cut the same into pieces, tendering those so stricken through, and those cut, presently after to the owners. And if any dispute should arise, then the offerer and receiver of such Coins should repair to the next Justice of the Peace, &c. who then, without delay, (taking one other assistant of knowledge to him,) should judge the Monies, and allow those which should be allowable for current according to the rate then estab-

<sup>b</sup> Snelling, Gold Coin, p. 20, gives a Placart of the Earl of Leicester's; from which it appears that the Ryals of Elizabeth were counterfeited at Gorcum in Holland, and suspects that they were the pieces alluded to in the above Proclamation.

lished, and of the contrary should presently execute that which the Proclamation appointed. And, in order to enable all persons to ascertain the lawful weights, order was given to the Warden of the Mint in the Tower, whose office it was, to prepare upright balances and true weights, of every several piece of Gold lawfully current in the realm, and also of the said Remedies and Abatements, to be stricken with an  $\mathcal{E}$  crowned, to be ready to deliver at reasonable prices, to be rated by the Treasurer of England.

And every City, Borough, and Town Corporate was required to have one such balance, and such weights, to be well and safely kept, for equal judgment between the Queen's subjects and all others. And it was ordered that no other weights but these should be used, on pain of imprisonment, without bail or mainprize<sup>c</sup>.

#### ABATEMENTS.

30s.	The Remedy and Abate- ment not to exceed	iiij gr. di.	
20s.		iiij gr.	
15s.		ij gr. di.	
10s.		ij gr.	
5s.		i gr.	
2s. 6d.		di.	
And in every French or Fle- mish Crown cur- rent in the realm for	vis.	the Remedy not above	grs. ij.

1587-8. This Order for the use of certain weights was followed by a Proclamation, (dated upon the 19th of March,) containing a declaration of an order

<sup>c</sup> Proclamation belonging to the Privy Council. See also Folkes's Table, page 73.

for the making of certain small cases for balances and weights; to weigh all manner of Gold Coins current within the realm, provided to be sold to all persons that should have cause to use the same, and which had been viewed by the Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Goldsmiths in London, by whom it was signed, limiting the sundry prices thereof according to their several quantities; which cases, with the balances and weights, had been made by order of the Master of her Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London, and viewed, allowed, and set to reasonable prices, by the said Wardens of the Goldsmiths in London, and thereupon, according to her Majesty's Proclamation heretofore made for that purpose, now put into print, by order of the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, whereof the original forms (so rated and prized) remained in the receipt of the Exchequer, to be compared with such as should be sold by the said Master of the Mint, according to their several forms and prices.

The first and greatest case.

First, a case of wood with several partitions for xiiij printed weights, with iiij other partitions for other weights, and one partition with a cover for grains, esteemed at -	viiij d.	
The balance of the same case at -	xvj d.	iiij s. vj d.
The xiiij printed weights for Coins -	xviiij d.	
The suit of 1 dwt. from ob. weight to 5 dwt. -	ix d.	
The suit of grains from di grain to v grains -	iiij d.	

## The second case.

Item, a lesser or second case of wood, having a parti- tion for a balance, xiiij partitions for xiiij seve- ral weights for Coins, and one partition for small grains, esteemed at -	vjd.	} iijs. iijd.
The balance of the same case at - -	xijd.	
The xiiij printed weights at	xviijd.	
The grains - - -	iijd.	

## The third case.

Item, a lesser or third case of wood, having a parti- tion for the balance, two partitions for the xiiij se- veral weights for Coins, and one partition for grains, esteemed at -	iiijd.	} iijs. jd.
The balance of the same case at - -	xijd.	
The xiiij printed weights at	xviijd.	
The grains - - -	iijd.	

## The iij case being leather.

Item, a leather case printed and gilded with Gold, having in it a partition for the balance, two par- titions for weights and grains, esteemed at -	xiiid.	} iijjs. vjd.
The balance of the same case at - -	xijd.	
The xiiij printed weights at	xviijd.	
The suit of j dwt. at -	ixd.	
The suit of grains at -	iijd.	



## The v case being latten.

Item, a case of latten for a pair of folding balance,	viiij <sup>d</sup> .	} iijs. viij <sup>d</sup> .
also of latten at -	-	
The balance of the same case at -	xij <sup>d</sup> .	
The xiiij printed weights at	xviiij <sup>d</sup> .	
The grains at -	iiij <sup>d</sup> .	

1588-9. This Proclamation appears to have been but little attended to, for on the 18th of February Richard Martin complained to the Lord Treasurer, that, notwithstanding her Majesty's Proclamation respecting the weighing Gold and Silver Coins, they still continued to pass without being weighed, and that he had expended above six hundred Pounds in providing scales and weights marked with an E crowned, the far greater part of which still remained upon his hands. He proposed therefore that the Warden of the Mint, &c. should have authority to see that the said Proclamation be observed, and that all other weights and grains used against the meaning of the same should be forfeited <sup>c</sup>.

1591. It should seem, from a passage in Budelius, that the Leaden Tokens, the Plumbeos Angliæ mentioned by Erasmus as current in the reign of Henry VII. or VIII. still continued to be circulated <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Proclamation in the Collection of the Privy Council. It is signed by Hugh Kayll, John Eccleston, Affabell Partridge, John Hyllard, and John Fox, the Wardens and Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company.

<sup>e</sup> Lansdown MSS. vol. LVIII. No. 62, entitled Mr. Alderman Martin's account of things to be considered as to Weights, Coin, and the Mint, Feb. 18, 1588-9.

<sup>f</sup> Budelius de Monetis, 4to, col. Agrip. 1591, p. 5. He there says, "Ex quo videtur sequi, illicitam atque impermissam fuisse

1592 or 1593. In her 35th year another Commission was granted to Sir Richard Martyn to coin the Pound weight of Gold, of 22 carats fine and 2 carats allay, into 33 Sovereigns, at 20 Shillings a-piece; or 66 Half-Sovereigns, or 132 Crowns, or 264 Half-Crowns, making 33 Pounds by tale <sup>5</sup>.

1595. The practice of counterfeiting the Coins was continued, and some persons were executed for that crime in her 37th year <sup>6</sup>.

1597. On the 30th of April, certain Goldsmiths, to the number of seven, complained to the Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer, that Sir Richard [Martyn] detained great sums of theirs, per force, which had been coined long since, converting their Money to his own use, to their damage, &c. and prayed redress <sup>1</sup>.

1598. It is to be presumed that this heavy charge was not made out, not only because nothing further respecting it is to be found upon record, but also because fresh Indentures were, in the next year, made between the Queen and the aforesaid Sir Richard Martyn, Knt. and Richard Martyn his son, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, Masters and Workers of her Highness' Monies within the Tower of London, concerning the making of five sorts of Money for Ireland. That is to say, the Shilling, current for twelve Pence Irish; the Half-Shilling, for six Pence; the Quarter of the Shilling, for three Pence; the Penny, for one Penny Irish; and the

*monetam plumbeam, licet apud Anglos adhuc hodie plumbei numi dicantur esse recepti.*" See before, p. 59. note [x.]

<sup>5</sup> Lowndes, page 51.

<sup>6</sup> Leahe, page 245, quoting Stow under this year.

<sup>1</sup> Lansdown MSS. vol. LXXXIV. folio 1.

Half-Penny, for one Halfpenny Irish. By force of which Indenture certain quantities of the said several kinds of Money were struck, sent over and issued out for the payment of the army, in that kingdom <sup>k</sup>.

These Indentures do not appear, but are referred to in one of her 48d year. The standard of the Coins is not therein specified; but Simon, on what authority I know not, says, that it was of a very base mixture of Copper and Silver, *viz.* of three ounces of Silver to nine ounces of Brass <sup>l</sup>.

1600. From a Report which was delivered to Sir Thomas Egerton, Knt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Thomas Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England, upon the eighteenth of October 1600, it appears that the loss by the abuse of the exchange was estimated at £.500,000 yearly, and above £.10,000 to her Majesty's Customs, and £.2,000 to her Mint, besides other revenues <sup>m</sup>.

This loss was occasioned chiefly by the exportation of Bullion, which was at that time carried on to a great amount, and occasioned the issuing of a Proclamation which stated that Bullion had of late been more exported than usual, by certain ungrateful strangers, born in foreign parts, who had long lived in England under her Majesty's safe conduct and protection. That the cause of this appeared to be the non-observance of the Statutes formerly enacted in that respect; and therefore it was commanded that they should be carefully observed in

<sup>k</sup> Simon, p. 38, and Appendix No XIX.

<sup>l</sup> Simon, *ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> Harl. MSS. 38. folio 2296. The Report is signed by Richard Martin, Henry Billingsley, Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Knivett, Vi. Skinner, Bevis Bulmer, Step. Rislesden, Richard Rogers, Ferdinando Clutterbuck, Garrarde de Malynes, and Jo. Williams.

future; namely, the Statute of York, made in the 9th year of Edward III. commonly called the Statute of Money, and those also which were made in the 5th Richard II. 2d Henry IV. 2d Henry VI. 25th Edward III. 5th Edward VI. 4th Henry VII. 9th Edward VI.<sup>n</sup>

1600 or 1601. In her 43d year she contracted for the coining of Angels, Half-Angels, pieces of an Angel and Half, and three Angels, of the finest Angel Gold; and (of a coarser Crown Gold) pieces of twenty, ten, and five Shillings. The former sort had A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD, ET EST MIRABILE on their Reverse; and the latter, SCUTUM FIDEI PROTEGIT EAM."<sup>o</sup>

Such is the account which Bishop Nicolson gives from Moryson's Itinerary; but it is to be presumed that the contract was never compleated, as none of the pieces of an Angel and Half, and of three Angels, have ever appeared.

By virtue of a Commission dated January 11, in the same year, Money was made of a kind unknown to the British Mint either before or since her time, for it was by law exportable, and intended for the use of the East India Company. It bore on one side the Queen's arms, and on the other a portcullis; and was called either Indian Money, from the purpose for which it was struck, or Portcullis Money, from the device impressed upon it. The weight of it was regulated according to the respective weights of the Spanish Piastre, or piece of eight Reas, and the Half, the Quarter, and Half-quarter of the same,

<sup>n</sup> Pat. 42 Eliz. dors. March 18.

<sup>o</sup> Nicolson's English Hist. Library, p. 267, quoting Moryson's Itin. Par. 1. lib. 3. cap. 6.

though they are now usually called the Crown, Half-Crown, Shilling, and Sixpence. Some Coinage of this sort was necessary; for the Queen, when she first incorporated the East India Company, would not permit them to transport the King of Spain's Silver Coins to the East Indies, though she was frequently solicited by the Merchants. The reason which they assigned to induce her to grant this permission determined her to strike Coins for the particular purpose of circulation in Asia. They represented to her Majesty, that her Silver Coin and Stamp were not known in the East Indies, which they supposed would induce her to grant them a license to send thither what Silver they pleased. The Queen and her Privy Council replied, that, for the very reason alledged, it was her fixed and unalterable resolution not to permit them to send the Coin of the King of Spain; or of any foreign Prince, to India; and that no Silver should be exported by her Merchants but only such as should be coined with her effigies and picture on the one side, and the portcullis on the other, of the just weight and fineness of the Spanish pieces of eight and pieces of four Rials <sup>P</sup>. Her prudent reason for this was, that her name and effigies might be hereafter respected by the Asiatics, and she be known as great a Prince as the King of Spain.

Of this Money, however, they were not to be permitted to export what quantity they thought fit, but only so much as she and her Privy Council should approve of; for her Majesty declared, that

<sup>P</sup> Notwithstanding this determination, the pieces have only her arms on the Obverse. See Silver Coins, Plate XV. Nos 5, 6, 7, and 8.

she held it as a special and chief prerogative of her crown and dignity to put the portcullis upon all the Silver the Company should send to the East Indies; and that she would have her Merchants, as to the quantity to be exported, subordinate to her will, and not her will to be ruled at the Merchants' pleasure<sup>9</sup>.

This was observed during the remainder of her reign, but in the next it was bought off<sup>r</sup>.

1601. In an Indenture, dated on the 23d of April, between the Queen and Sir George Carye, Knt. Treasurer at War, and Vice-Treasurer, and General Receiver of her Majesty's Revenues, in her Highness' realm of Ireland, it was stated, that, by reason of the long and chargeable wars in Ireland, her Majesty had been compelled to send great sums of sterling Money, of the standard of England, into that kingdom, for the payment of her army there, and for other services. It then recited the provisions of the Statute of the 3d Henry VII. for the re-

<sup>9</sup> Violet's Appeal to Cæsar, page 25, where he has given the figure of the piece of the eight Reas, which he calls the true figure of the Silver Coin that Queen Elizabeth allowed the East India merchants to send to those Indies. He has also given the representation of three square weights (marked respectively, India viii Testernes, India iiii Testernes, and India ii.) as being the standard poizes of the abovesaid Coin remaining in his Majesty's Mint within the Tower of London, and in the custody of Sir William Parkhurst, Warden of his Majesty's said Mint. See also Folkes, p. 61, and Leake, p. 255. Malynes says, that of these pieces were coined in the Tower of London for a trial (in January 1600) some six thousand Pounds, which could not be made current in the East Indies because the Spanish pieces of eight Royals had been before that time counterfeited by other nations, which made the East Indians to doubt of our Coin, although without cause. [Lex Monætoria, part I. chap. 35, p. 135.] See also Leake, page 257.

gulation of Merchant strangers; and also that of his 19th year, to prevent the exportation of Bullion; and stated further, that in his reign, and in the times of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Mary, the Monies current in Ireland were under the standard of English Monies; and therefore her Majesty, with the advice of her Privy Council, had resolved, that the Monies current in Ireland should be under the standard of the Monies current in England, and had appointed and ordained new sorts of Monies, distinct and differing from the Monies of England, to be the proper current Money of the said realm of Ireland; and yet in such manner, and with such provision and moderation, as in former times had not been done, and so as none of her Highness loving and faithful subjects should be thereby prejudiced. For the better effecting of which, certain Indentures had been lately made in the fortieth year of her reign; and the Monies made by virtue of them were declared to be the Queen's proper Coin, authorized to be current within her realm of Ireland only, and all other Monies to be decried and abolished, and not to be current there.

And whereas her Majesty had thought it good and convenient to establish an Exchange to be had and maintained in convenient places in England and Ireland, for the exchange of the Monies of the standard appointed for those realms respectively; therefore the Indenture appointed Sir George Caryl Knt. to be Master of her Highness Exchange between England and Ireland, by himself, or deputy, during her Highness pleasure, with power to nominate within the Cities of London, Bristol, and West Chester, in the realm of England,

and within the Cities and Port Towns of Dublin, Cork, Galloway, and Carrickfergus, within the realm of Ireland, and in other Cities, Towns, or Ports of the said realms, as many officers as he should think convenient for the execution of the said exchange.

And her Majesty engaged to disburse such sums of Money, of the standard of England, as should be necessary for the maintenance of the said Exchange, and also for exchanging and converting the said new Irish Money, and other Money which might hereafter be made and coined to be current within the Realm of Ireland, into the Money of the standard of England; after the rate of the fourth part at the least in Money of the standard of England, in respect of such quantities of the said new Money, &c. as her Majesty should cause to be coined and sent into Ireland, and uttered there, or after a greater rate if it should appear to be necessary.

And that every person who should be desirous of exchanging, within the realm of Ireland, any Coins of the realm of England, or of any foreign Country, or any Plate or Bullion, being of the fineness of the standard of England, or better, should receive a bill from the Officer of the Exchange in Ireland, directed to such place of Exchange in England as he should desire to have his payment. By which bill he should receive not only Monies of England, value for value by tale, but also an overplus of Sixpence English upon every twenty Shillings English by him delivered by tale, or else eighteen Pence English, over and above three Pounds English, upon every pound weight of such Monies, Plate, &c. delivered by weight, and so in proportion.



In the same manner the new Monies of Ireland were to be exchanged by a Bill upon an English Exchange, deducting only twelve Pence in the Pound; so that, for every twenty Shillings delivered in Ireland, nineteen Shillings should be received of current English Money.

English Coin, or Plate, &c. of equal standard, to be exchanged in Ireland at the rate of twenty-one Shillings of the new Irish Money for every twenty Shillings of English Money, &c.; and this to be done either by Money or by bill upon any Exchange in Ireland.

The base Monies then current in Ireland were to be exchanged by equal quantities of the new Money, without any fee or reward.

Sir George Carye was allowed for his wages, expenses, &c. two thousand Pounds yearly pension, and also twenty Pounds for every thousand which should be exchanged, according to the meaning of the Indenture, out of England into Ireland, (excepting for Monies first uttered for the payment of her Majesty's army, or any other her service, within the realm of Ireland, and afterwards brought back again to the Exchange to be exchanged into the Money of England, and then uttered again for the payment of her army, &c. for which he was to receive at the rate of ten Pounds only for every thousand,) and twenty marks out of every thousand Pounds which should be delivered out of the Exchequer of England for the maintenance of the said Exchange.

And her Majesty undertook that all hazards and losses, either by wreck of sea, or in any other way

which should attend the transportation of the Money, should be borne by her Highness.

And full power was given, by the Indenture, to Sir George Carye, during his continuance in the said office, to transport out of Ireland, into England, such quantities of sterling Money of England, or of plate of equal standard, as to him should seem convenient, any Statutes, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding<sup>s</sup>.

On the 20th of May it was declared, by Proclamation, that the Queen, finding by the Records of both her realms of England and Ireland, that it had been accustomed (as a thing found convenient for the good of the loyal subjects of both realms) that there should be a difference between the standards of the Monies allowed to be current in each of her said realms, and knowing that by the 3d and 19th of Henry VII. the transportation of the Coin and standard of England was severely forbidden under great penalties, and that the Monies which had been sent by her Majesty into Ireland either came into the hands of the rebels, who by means of them procured ammunition, &c. from foreign parts, or else the said Monies, being better than the Monies of

<sup>s</sup> Pat. 43 Eliz. p. 6. m. 20. Rymer, vol. XVI. p. 414. If Simon be correct in the account which he gives of the standard of the Coins which were authorized by this Indenture, it will not be easy to understand the nature of that moderation of which her Majesty was pleased to boast, for, according to him, they were only two ounces and eighteen pennyweights fine. He says, however, that Malynes fixes the standard at three ounces fine. [Essay on Irish Coins, p. 38.] But this will give an increase of two pennyweights only to her Majesty's moderation. Leake says, that the Goldsmiths valued a Shilling of this Coinage at no more than two Pence sterling. [P. 269.]

other Countries, were by Merchants, &c. for want of merchandize wherein to employ them, transported into such Countries, to the impoverishment of both her realms; her Majesty, therefore, with the advice of her Privy Council, after long and serious debating, had found that the readiest way to prevent the same was to reduce the state of her Monies and Coins to the antient course, that is, to a difference in fineness between the Monies of the realms of England and Ireland, and for that purpose she had caused great quantities of Monies to be coined, according to that antient standard which was in use for the realm of Ireland in the days of her Majesty's father, brother, and sister, in Shillings, Sixpences, and Threepences, stamped with her Highness' arms crowned, and inscription of her usual style, on the one side, and on the other an harp crowned, being the arms of her Kingdom of Ireland, with the inscription, POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM. And also certain pieces of small Monies of mere Copper, of Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings, for the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other.

These Coins were, by the Proclamation, established to be the lawful and current Monies of the realm of Ireland, to be there received by all persons, at the rates they were coined at, on pain of such punishment as by her Majesty's prerogative royal might be inflicted. And after the tenth of July, immediately following the date of the Proclamation, all other Coins whatsoever were called in, and to be considered as Bullion only, meet to be molten down, and brought to her Majesty's Exchange or Mint.

\* See specimens of these Coins in the Supplement, Part II.

The provisions of the preceding Proclamation (relating to the establishment of Exchanges in divers places in England and Ireland, and the terms on which the exchange of Monies was to be made) were then recited. And as the old base Coins current in Ireland were by the Proclamation decried, her Majesty's pleasure was signified that the same should be brought in and reduced to one uniform standard; and every person, having any quantity of such Money in his hands, was commanded to bring it to any of the offices of Exchange in Ireland, there to receive, for the same Money, Money of the new standard.

At the same time, the laws which forbade the transporting of the Coins of England into Ireland were commanded to be severely executed, and especially the Statute of the 19th of Henry VII.<sup>u</sup>

This debasement of the Irish Money, for the present time and afterward to be restored to its full value<sup>\*</sup>, was, as Camden says, extorted from the Queen by the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst (a man well skilled in Money affairs) out of necessity, as he alledged, the Irish war drawing yearly out of England above  $\text{£}160,000$  sterling. Her Majesty was always averse to the measure, saying often that it

<sup>u</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XX. p. 92. May 28, 43 Eliz. Rolls Office, Dublin, 16 J. 1. p. 5.

<sup>\*</sup> Fabian Philipps says, that the brass Coins were made current upon the Queen's royal promise to give those who should receive them good Money of Gold or Silver; which promise King James, her successor, did some years after justly cause to be performed. For this he quotes the MS. of an account given by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer of England, to the Parliament in the reign of James I. [Archæologia, vol. XIII. p. 185.]

would be injurious to her fame, and displeasing to the army. The love, however, which the soldiers bore to her, gave her such authority over them, that the change was effected without any commotion. To the army it unquestionably occasioned a loss: I know not whether it were profitable to the Queen; the Paymasters, who were diligent searchers after hidden gains, and whose avarice seems first to have suggested it, without doubt gained by it<sup>y</sup>.

The scheme, however, proved to be very prejudicial to the kingdom of Ireland in general, and to the army in particular, as the Queen had justly and wisely foreseen. It impoverished, says Moryson, not only the rebels, but her Majesty's best servants in that kingdom, whilst it enriched her paymasters only, who sat quietly at home, when others were daily adventuring their blood in the service<sup>z</sup>.

So severely were the effects of this change of the Money felt before six months had elapsed, that the Lord Deputy himself (in a letter to Secretary Cecil, dated November the 7th in this year) declared that his private estate was unable any longer to continue the expense at which he was forced to live, growing greater by the mixed Coin, as he ever thought it would fall very heavy upon him, by which reason he might value his entertainment to be less than it was in the time of the old standard, for whatsoever was bought with the new Coin was raised to double the price<sup>a</sup>.

And Moryson says, "as the Exchange soon

<sup>y</sup> Camdeni Eliz. a Hearne, vol. III. p. 880.

<sup>z</sup> Moryson's Hist. of Ireland, vol. I. p. 234, quoted by Simon, page 40.

<sup>a</sup> Moryson, vol. I. p. 359, quoted by Simon, p. 41.

failed, so did our hearts therewith: for we served them in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that the Treasurer and Paymasters (who were thereby enriched) had cause to bless the authors of this invention." <sup>b</sup>

In several of the Queen's Proclamations the Merchants are, above all others, complained of, for raising the price of their goods about seventy or eighty *per cent.*, and for refusing or not taking enough of that base Money, in exchange for what sterling Money they had. And to make good this charge against them, different accounts were sent over of the pretended exorbitant profit they made on such goods as they either imported or manufactured. But the whole blame should have been laid on the inventors of that monstrous scheme, the Lord Treasurer of England, Buckhurst, and his partner, the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, who being perhaps in great arrears, or having bought large estates, were willing to pay off one hundred thousand Pounds with twenty-five thousand Pounds <sup>c</sup>.

On the 3d. of July a special Proclamation was issued, in which it was stated that her Majesty had cause to send extraordinary sums of Money into Ireland, for payment of the forces there; which sums of sterling Money, for the most part, either came into the hands of the rebels, by which they were enabled to continue their rebellion, or else were transported from thence into foreign parts by Merchants, for lack of commodities. To prevent this, it was commanded that the Statute of 19

<sup>b</sup> Moryson, vol. I. p. 208, quoted by Simon, p. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Simon, p. 41.

Henry VII. should be observed, and all her Majesty's subjects, and all others, trading to Ireland, were charged to forbear all such transportation of Money; and at the same time it was ordained, that all the laws respecting the same should be so strictly executed, that the penalties should fall heavy upon the offender, without any hope of remission.<sup>d</sup>

And on the 29th of the same month, according to Folkes<sup>e</sup>, for Lowndes gives no date of the month, another Commission was granted to Sir Richard Martyn and his son, by which the weight of the English Money, both of Gold and Silver, was somewhat reduced. The pound weight of Gold of the old standard was then coined into seventy-three Angels at ten Shillings a-piece, or a proportionate number of Half or Quarter-Angels, making thirty-six Pounds ten Shillings by tale.

The pound weight of Gold twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, into thirty-three Sovereigns and an half, at twenty Shillings a-piece, or a proportional number of Half-Sovereigns, or Crowns, or Half-Crowns, making thirty-three Pounds ten Shillings in tale. And the pound weight of old standard Silver<sup>f</sup> into three pounds two Shillings by tale: namely, into Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Sixpences, Twopences, Pence, and Halfpence. Two

<sup>d</sup> Pat. 43 Eliz. m. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Table of English Silver Coins, p. 57.

<sup>f</sup> Lowndes, p. 51. This standard for the Silver Coins has continued unaltered until the year 1816\*; except perhaps in one instance. See the Commission dated Aug. 14, 1626.

The nominal Pound sterling was now settled at 3 ounces 17 pennyweights 10.0645 grains of old standard, or 3 ounces 11 pennyweights 14.7096 grains of fine Silver. [Folkes, p. 58.]

\* See the Annals under that year.

Shillings were added to the tale of the two largest pieces, in order to make up the sum above-mentioned.

I know not whether the Pledges for a Penny and an Halfpenny, which were first coined in 1574, were continually struck in every succeeding year until 1601, but I rather suspect that they were, as some of that latter date are still in existence, and it is not probable that the use of them would be revived after it had, for any length of time, been discontinued.

1602. About the middle of this year, it was found necessary to increase the rate of exchange, with Ireland, for the old decried Monies, from one and twenty Shillings to two and twenty, because, although since the date of the Proclamation, of the 20th May, 1601, there had been brought into the Exchange in Dublin above £.60,000 of the new standard, for which Bills of Exchange had been given, besides other great sums at the other Exchanges, yet not so much as the sum of twenty Pounds in the old Money, had been brought to the Exchange in Dublin, contrary to the tenor of the said Proclamation. Therefore the currency of any Money except that of the new standard, was forbidden, by Proclamation, on the 9th of June, and all persons were commanded not to traffick or trade with the decried Monies or Bullion.

And whereas, in the former Proclamation, there was no express mention of the Gold Money, or

g See a pledge for a Penny, dated 1601, in Plate XV. of Silver Coins, No 10; where is also at No 12 another piece, of the same date, which is supposed to be a pattern for a Silver Halfpenny, or a Copper Farthing.



Bullion of Gold, her Majesty declared her pleasure that all Monies, either foreign or of her Highness own Coin, Plate, or Bullion of Gold, being of the fineness of sterling or better, should be received at her Exchanges at the rate of twenty-two Shillings of the new standard Money for every twenty Shillings thereof. And it was her further pleasure that, for such old base Money as should be brought to her said Exchanges, there should be allowed after the rate of twelve Pence upon the Pound.

And whereas it appeared that divers persons (especially Merchants) had taken advantage of the wording of the former Proclamation, as far as related to the exchange of the new Monies for sterling to be delivered in England, but had not, according to the true meaning thereof, brought in any sterling Money for Money of the new standard to be used in Ireland, therefore her Majesty declared it to be her pleasure, that, after the publishing of the Proclamation, all persons, using the trade of merchandize, and all others, saving such as were or should be in her Majesty's pay or entertainment within the Kingdom of Ireland, who should bring any Money of the new standard of that realm to her Majesty's Exchange there, to receive for the same sterling Money in England, should withal deliver twenty-two Shillings in sterling Money into the Exchange, as much as one full fifth part, at the least, of the sum by them delivered of the new Money to be exchanged should amount to, viz. in every hundred Pounds, twenty Pounds sterling Silver, Gold, or plate of the fineness aforesaid, for which they should have Bills, directed into England, to receive there sterling for the same, for

which sterling, coined Money, or Bullion, so brought into the Exchange, they should have two Shillings in the Pound without deduction, and for the rest should pay twelve Pence in the Pound according to the Proclamation. But those who were in her Majesty's pay were allowed to exchange the amount of it, upon oath, without putting in any Money of the old sterling, or Bullion. It was also commanded that all persons coming from England should presently repair to the Exchange, and exchange such sterling Money as they brought with them for Money current within the Kingdom of Ireland; and that the Officers of the Exchange should search all such as should be suspected of concealment; unless they should take a voluntary oath to open the truth, at the choice of such persons. And whereas divers covetous persons, as well merchants, retailers, victuallers, and such like, did, by colour of the new standard Money, enhance the prices both of victuals and other necessities, it was commanded that all Officers, to whom it might appertain, should diligently and carefully look to their offices and charge in that behalf as they would answer at their perils, *her Majesty taking it in very evil part, that her Highness purpose, being intended for the general good of the Kingdom, should be in that manner perverted by some private persons for their private gain*<sup>a</sup>.

1602-3. As this Proclamation failed to produce the desired effect, it was explained, and further enforced, by another which was issued upon the 24th of January following, with several important alter-

<sup>a</sup> h. Rolls Office, Dublin, 16 J. I., 5<sup>a</sup> para. Simon, Appendix, No XXI.

ations. As the Merchants, &c. had continued to take advantage of the provisions of that Proclamation which was issued upon the 20th of May 1601, notwithstanding her Majesty's commands to the contrary, as delivered in the last Proclamation, they were declared to be unworthy of her favour; yet nevertheless, in consideration of the poverty of Ireland, which she conceived to want sufficient commodities of the growth thereof to support traffick, she was pleased to maintain for their use an Exchange in the following manner. Namely, that every person who should bring one hundred Pounds to the Exchange, whereof forty Pounds should be of the standard of sterling in Money, or Plate of Silver or of Gold, and sixty Pounds in mixed Monies of the new standard, should receive a bill, payable at the Bank of Exchange in England, for one hundred Pounds in Money current in England, wanting only twenty Pence in the Pound, as before had been ordained for each Pound of the mixed Monies delivered, and for the sterling no defalcation to be made.

And to prevent the frauds which were used by some Merchants, and that the Master of the Exchange might know that they dealt truly in bringing Money to the Exchange, it was ordered that every Merchant should bring a certificate, from the Officers of the Custom-house where his goods were entered, of the quantity, and the time when, entered, to the end that it might be known that he sought nothing but the return of his own Money, and was not a colourer of other men's; and the Master of the Exchange had authority to put every such Merchant to his oath, that the old decried Monies

brought by him to pass there new Monies withall, came not nor was brought out of England, by his means, procurement, or knowledge, after the publishing of the Proclamation.

Noblemen and Gentlemen of Ireland having occasion to repair into England, were allowed the same benefit of Exchange as by the former Proclamation was granted to those of her Majesties armies, for such yearly sums as the Queen's Deputy, &c. should think good to allow, upon their demand.

The use of the decried Monies was again forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, and such fine as that contempt should deserve in the judgement of the Lord Deputy.

The rate of exchange of old standard sterling Silver Money, and of all Gold and Silver, or Plate of the fineness of sterling, was fixed at twenty-two Shillings of the new Money for every twenty Shillings; with an overplus of <sup>i</sup> Shillings and six Pence. And for all base old Money which should be brought into the Exchange in Ireland, it was ordered that there should be allowed after the rate of ten upon the hundred, to be paid in the said new Monies.

It was also forbidden to counterfeit the new Money, or to utter it knowing the same to be counterfeited, as an encroachment upon her Majesty's Pretogative Royal, and the offenders were ordered to be apprehended, and committed to the next gaol, there to receive the punishment ordained by the laws and statutes of the realm.

<sup>i</sup> Something is wanting here; probably the word two, as two Shillings were allowed by the former Proclamation.

As many persons had presumed to slander the former restrictions, as though there was not in her Majesty an honourable meaning to perform what she there proposed, it was therefore commanded that all Magistrates, &c. should have an ear to such evil rumours, and to the spreaders of them; and to make example of such as they should find to be authors or instruments of divulging any slanderous speeches touching that matter of exchange, for others to be admonished by; and to assure all men, that the institution of base Monies in the Kingdom of Ireland had its chiefest ground in the hope her Majesty had thereby to weaken the rebels of that Kingdom, who by the use of sterling Monies had means to provide themselves from foreign parts of all things necessary to maintain their evil courses; and that the same being that way partly, and partly by the power of her Majesty's army, once suppressed, she would have just cause to restore the Monies of that realm to such Estate as her progenitors were accustomed to use there<sup>k</sup>.

The sincerity of these professions was not exposed to any trial, as the death of Elizabeth took place in about two months<sup>l</sup> after the publishing of this Proclamation.

It was the fashionable flattery of her time to ascribe the whole merit of the improvement of the Coins to her wisdom and goodness; and her Majesty, it is to be presumed, believed that such honour was justly her due, as we find her frequently and publickly claiming it, and boasting, "that she

<sup>k</sup> Rolls Office, Dublin, 16 Jas. I. 5<sup>a</sup> pars. Simon, Appendix No XXII.

<sup>l</sup> On the 24th of March, 1603-8.

had conquered now that Monster which had so long devoured her people." <sup>m</sup>

That she could persuade herself to receive with complacency these honours, which courtly flattery lavished upon her, will not be thought strange when it is recollected that at the advanced age of seventy years she could hear, with pleasure, the most extravagant compliments to her personal charms <sup>n</sup>.

The credit of completing that plan which was begun, and in a considerable degree carried into effect, by King Edward VI. for restoring the standard of the Coins, is the utmost which can with justice be claimed by her; and, if Lowndes be correct in his statement of an Indenture in the reign of Philip and Mary, that credit will suffer considerable diminution, as the Coins both of Gold and Silver are directed by that instrument to be made of the old standard <sup>o</sup>.

It must also greatly detract from her merit, in this respect, that she permitted, by several Commissions, her Master of the Mint to vary from the terms of his Indentures, for the express purpose of coining the Money of less weight and fineness; and that instead of entirely reforming the base Coins, she only transferred them to Ireland, for the use of her wretched subjects in that kingdom, where four thousand Pounds of those Coins, only three ounces fine, were coined into eight thousand Pounds of Irish currency; and at the latter end of her reign a still greater debasement took place. These oppressions were heightened by her hypocritical professions of

<sup>m</sup> Cottoni Posthuma, p. 287.

<sup>n</sup> See Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. I. p. 140.

<sup>o</sup> Lowndes, p. 24.

moderation, and great attention to the convenience of her Irish subjects<sup>P</sup>.

<sup>P</sup> A very striking proof of her attention, in that respect, will be found in the following account of the Money which was coined for Ireland during her reign.

	lbs.	oz.	dwts.	worth in sterl.
Anno 1. Three ounces fine, in				£. s. d.
weight . . . . .	19,828	0	0	15,541 10 3½
Anno 4. Eleven ounces fine..	2,977	0	0	8,931 0 0
Anno 40 and 43. The first three				
ounces fine, the last two				
ounces and eighteen penny-				
weights . . . . .	89,844	10	15	70,105 9 2½
Total in English Money				94,577 19 6

Which, at the rate of sixteen Pence Irish for every

English Shilling, comes to. . . . . 118,222 9 4½  
 [Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, p. 43.] So that out of 112,649 pounds weight, only 2977 pounds were nearly sterling, and the remainder, being more than forty parts to one of the whole amount, of an alloy which was base in the extreme. Nicolson gives a most pitiable account of the state of Irish currency at the end of her reign. "Besides her adulterate Coin, they had, 1st. *Broad-faced Groats*, coined originally for four Pence, but now worth eight. 2dly. *Cross-keele Groats*, stamped with a triple crown, which were coined likewise for four Pence, but at better value at that time. These, (says Moryson,) were either sent hither of old by the Popes, or for their honour had this stamp set upon them. 3dly. *Dominus Groats*, of like fineness, coined by such English Kings as styled themselves Domini Hiberniæ. 4thly. *Rex Groats*, of those who took the title of Kings of Ireland, which had such a mixture of Copper that their intrinsick value was not above two Pence. 5th. *White Groats*, of so base a mixture, that sometimes nine were given for an English Shilling. They had also *Brass Harpers*, which were as big as a Shilling, but went for no more than a Penny; and *Farthings*, of the same metal, called *Smulkins*." [Irish Hist. Library, p. 79.]

The finer Monies had been collected and carried off by Sir George Carew, Treasurer of the Navy.

At the beginning of the following reign, a very curious law

*At a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries Dec. 16. 1742. Mr. Willis showed a remarkable sixpence of Elizabeth with the Legend CHRIS: TO: AVSPICE: REG: No. the date over the arms appears to have begun with 16.. the rest obliterated; it has no Mint-mark, & whence it should seem it had never been regularly fixed in the Tower: & the Legend being not known to have been used before H. Chas. I. Time, would breed a suspicion it is a counterfeit as late at least as his reign.*

Her title, upon her Coins, differed not from that of her sister Mary before her marriage, for she was styled ELIZABETH DEI GRATIA ANGLIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REGINA. On some of the smaller pieces, however, that title was omitted, and they bore only E. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA. Those pieces had the place of mintage on the Reverse.

The motto upon her Silver Coins is POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM; upon the Gold are found IESVS AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT. — A DOMINO FACTVM EST ISTVD ET EST MIRABILE IN OCVLIS NOSTRIS. — SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EAM.

Her style upon her Great Seal was ELIZABETHA. DEI. GRATIA. ANGLIÆ. FRANCIÆ. ET. HIBERNIÆ. REGINA. FIDEI. DEFENSOR.

question arose out of the establishment of those base Coins as the only currency in Ireland.

Before the Proclamation for that purpose, a Merchant of Drogheda became bound to a person in London in £200, as the condition for payment of £100 current and lawful Money of England, at a certain place in Ireland, and upon a fixed day, which happened to be after the publishing of the said Proclamation. At the time and place he tendered £100 in the mixed Money, which was refused; and the question, whether such tender were sufficient to save the forfeiture, was solemnly argued before the Council.

As this was a general case, and of great importance, Sir George Cary, (then Lord Deputy,) referred it to the Chief Judges, who were Members of the Council, for their determination; by whom it was, after conference and consideration, resolved, that the tender of the said mixed Monies, at the time and place appointed, was sufficient in law to save the forfeiture of the obligation, and that the aforesaid Merchant could not at any subsequent period be compelled to pay, in discharge of the debt, any other than such mixed Monies, at the rate and value which they bore at the time that tender was made. [See the arguments at large in Davis's Reports, Trin. 2 Jacobi. Le Case de Mixt Moneys, folio 18.]

*kind the head as is usual on her coins. The Letters are a clumsily cut. A Type of it is inserted in one of the Books of Drawings. Soc. of Antiq. Minutes vol. IV. p. 146.*



The Mint in the Tower of London is the only one which is known to have been worked during this reign.

## JAMES I.

The declaration of Elizabeth, some days before her decease, that she owned no successor but the King of Scotland<sup>q</sup>, was, possibly, intended as an act of expiation for the murder of his mother; which, it may reasonably be presumed, weighed heavily upon her conscience at that time, and had no small share in causing the deep melancholy which depressed all the faculties of her mind.

That Monarch, who was the sixth of his name in Scotland, was proclaimed King of England by the title of James the First in the course of the day on which Queen Elizabeth died; and thus the two Crowns became united in one person.

1603. The news of his accession was conveyed to him in the short space of three days, by Robert Cary, afterwards Earl of Monmouth<sup>r</sup>.

James left Holyrood House on the 5th of April following, and passed a month in his journey to London, hunting and feasting the whole way<sup>s</sup>. His arrival was preceded by a Proclamation, which declared the value at which certain Scottish Coins should be current in England. This was intended for the convenience of the Scottish Nobility who attended him, and were not able to provide themselves with current Money of England, for their expenses, so suddenly as his speed required<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Carte's Hist. of England, vol. III. p. 697.

<sup>r</sup> Memoirs of Robert Cary, p. 151, note 9.    <sup>s</sup> Id. p. 154, note 13.

<sup>t</sup> Proclamation, dated Nov. 16, 1604. MS. penes Auctorem.

The Proclamation bore date on the 8th of April, 1603, and began with stating, that the two Kingdoms being united and incorporated together, it was necessary for commerce and trade between the subjects of the same, that the true value at which certain pieces of his Majesty's Coin of Scotland should be current in England should be made known and published. And his Majesty, having found upon trial, and certificate, by the Officers of his Mint within the Tower of London, that the Coin of Scotland called the Six Pound Piece of Gold was of the fineness of twenty-two carats, and that six of those pieces made an ounce; and also that the Scottish Mark Piece of Silver was of the value of thirteen Pence Halfpenny sterling; did therefore publish and declare, that the Six Pound Piece should from henceforth be current in England for ten Shillings sterling, and the Mark Piece for thirteen Pence Halfpenny<sup>u</sup>; at which rates all persons were commanded to accept and receive the same<sup>x</sup>.

Soon after his accession it was found necessary to issue a Proclamation, in Ireland, in order to confirm and enforce the currency of the Money of the new

<sup>u</sup> Dr. Grey is at a loss to say whence the sum of thirteen Pence Halfpenny was called Hangman's Wages, unless it was in allusion to the Halifax Law, by which every felon, taken within the liberties, with goods stolen to that value, was to suffer death. [Hudibras, part III. canto II. note on line 751.] Mr. Watson asks, "might not the Scotch mark, which was made current in England in the reign of James I. have been made the standard for convicting capitally at Halifax, and this piece, or the value of it, be the usual gratuity to the executioner." [History of Halifax, page 222.] This fixes the proportion of the Scotch Coins to the English at one to twelve.

<sup>x</sup> Proclamation. MS. penes Auctorem.

standard, which had been ordained by Proclamation on the 24th of January in the last year, because some ignorant and misconceiving persons had affirmed, that, by the death of the late Queen, the force and effect of that Proclamation was determined; and in consequence the Money of that standard had been refused by many<sup>y</sup>.

On the 21st of May the King renewed the Indentures with the Master and Worker of his Mint, Sir Richard Martyn, for the coining of new Monies, the same both in goodness and weight, as those directed by the Indentures of the 43d of Queen Elizabeth<sup>z</sup>; with this variation only, that the title of King of Scotland was added to the style, and the arms of Scotland were placed in the second quarter of the shield, and those of Ireland, which then appeared for the first time upon the Money, in the third quarter.

As the rebellion in Ireland was now entirely suppressed, the reasons for circulating a base Coinage in that kingdom no longer existed; therefore an Indenture was made, upon the 20th of August, by which it was provided that Shillings and Sixpences, nine ounces fine, should be coined for the use of that realm<sup>a</sup>.

The currency of these pieces was established by a Proclamation which was issued on the 11th of October following. It began with a representation of

<sup>y</sup> Proclamation, April 18, 1603. Simon, Appendix, No XXV.

<sup>z</sup> Folkes, p. 66. The Indenture which Lowndes has placed under this year, belongs to the next following, as is evident from its containing the Britain Crown.

<sup>a</sup> Leake, p. 293. See Specimens of this Coinage, Supplement, Part II.

the extreme dearth of all things in Ireland, and the many other inconveniences which had been occasioned by the alteration in the standard of Money there. In consideration of which his Majesty thought fit not only to restore the antient standard of that Kingdom, being nine ounces fine, but also to reduce the base mixt Monies of three ounces fine to their value in Silver, and, for the use of the poorer sort, to allow the Monies of mere Copper, as Pence and Halfpence, to have still their course amongst his Majesty's subjects, in the following manner. After the day of the date of this Proclamation, each piece of the standard of nine ounces fine, bearing the name of a Shilling, to be current for twelve Pence, and all the other pieces in proportion.

From the same day, all the mixt Money to be cried down to a third part of the value at which it had been current.

The Copper Monies to be still current at the former rate, provided that no person should be obliged to receive of them above fifty Shillings in the hundred Pounds, and at the same rate in smaller sums, *viz.* the fortieth part of any payment. And all persons who sold victual, or other commodities, were commanded to receive, of the poor, the said Copper Money, provided it did not exceed four Pence at one time. All these provisions were to be complied with, on pain of forty days imprisonment, without bail or enlargement, and such other fine and imprisonment, as the Lord Deputy and Council should think fit to be inflicted.

And all his Majesty's subjects were exhorted to

express their thankfulness for his princely care of their welfare, by rating their commodities at such prices as upon the alteration of the standard might reasonably be expected; and all Mayors, &c. &c. were commanded to take care that they should so do, and to apprehend all offenders, and commit them to gaol, until his Majesty's pleasure should be further known <sup>b</sup>.

1603-4. On the 13th of March, the King and Queen visited the Mint in the Tower, where they coined Money, and gave it to divers persons there present <sup>c</sup>.

In his second year he assumed the title of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, which stile was ordered by Proclamation, upon the 20th of October, 1604, to be used upon his Coins <sup>d</sup>.

On the 11th of November <sup>e</sup> a new Indenture was made with Sir Richard Martyn, and his son, in which they covenanted to coin the pound weight of Gold of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, into thirty-seven Pounds four Shillings by tale, *viz.* into thirty-seven Unites, at twenty Shillings each, and a Thistle Crown; or seventy-four Double Crowns at ten Shillings, and a Thistle Crown; or one hundred and forty-eight Britain Crowns, at five Shillings, and a Thistle Crown; or one hundred and eighty-six Thistle Crowns, at four Shillings apiece; or two hundred and ninety-six Half-Crowns, at two Shillings and six Pence apiece. The pound

<sup>b</sup> Lansdown MSS. No 264. This Proclamation is imperfectly copied by Simon, Appendix, No XXVI.

<sup>c</sup> Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, &c. vol. III. p. 41.

<sup>d</sup> Proclamation in the Collection belonging to the Privy Council.

<sup>e</sup> This date is from Leake, page 272.

weight troy of standard Silver was to be coined into sixty-two Shillings, or a proportionable number of Crowns, Half-Crowns, Sixpences, Twopences, Pence, and Halfpence. Two Shillings were added to the number of the larger pieces, to make up the true sum <sup>f</sup>.

These Coins were made current by a Proclamation which was issued upon the 16th of the same month. In the preamble the King took great credit to himself for his moderation in the rating of his Coins, and especially for having restored the antient standard of Irish Money. He then stated, that great inconvenience had arisen from the Scottish Coins of Gold having been declared equal to the Gold Coins of England <sup>g</sup>. Not that it was not worth in true value so much of the Silver Money of England, but because the English Coins of Gold were not, in regard of the Silver Coins, of the true proportion between Gold and Silver accustomed in all nations. This error had been the great cause of the transportation of Gold out of the realm, into other Countries, because the Gold Coins of England were of more value in those parts than they were allowed to be current at within the realm.

To remedy these inconveniences, his Majesty caused new Coins, both of Gold and Silver, to be made, of several stamps, weights, and values, but of one uniform standard and allay, to be current in the Kingdom of Great Britain; *viz.* one piece of Gold, of the value of twenty Shillings sterling, to be called the Unite, stamped on the one side with the King's picture, formerly used, with this style,

<sup>f</sup> Lausdown MS. No 745.

<sup>g</sup> See the Proclamation of the 8th of April, 1603.

**JACOBUS D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRANC. & HIB. REX**; and on the other side the King's Arms crowned, with **FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM**.

One other Gold Money of ten Shillings, to be called the Double Crown; and one other Gold Money, of five Shillings, to be called the Britain Crown: on the one side of which the King's accustomed picture, with the style as aforesaid; and on the other side the King's arms, with **HENRICUS ROSAS, REGNA JACOBUS**.

One other piece of Gold, of four Shillings, to be called the Thistle Crown: on one side of which a rose crowned, with **JA. D. G. MAG. BRIT. F. & H. REX**; and on the other a thistle-flower crowned, with **TUEATUR UNITA DEUS**.

One other Gold Money, of two Shillings and Sixpence, to be called an Half Crown, with the King's accustomed picture, and **J. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA**: and on the other side his arms, with the same motto as the last <sup>b</sup>.

Of Silver Money, pieces of five Shillings and two Shillings and Sixpence, having on one side the King's picture on horseback, with the style aforesaid; and pieces of twelve Pence and six Pence, having on one side the King's picture formerly used, and the style as aforesaid; and on the other the King's arms, with **QUÆ DEUS CONJUNXIT NEMO SEPARET**.

Also pieces of two Pence, having on one side a rose crowned, and about it **J. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA**; and on the other side a thistle-flower crowned, and about it **TUEATUR UNITA DEUS**.

<sup>b</sup> See Specimens of these Coins in Plate XI.

Likewise pieces of one Penny, with the same picture and inscription, but without the crown over the rose and the thistle; with the half of the same, having the like picture, but without any inscription<sup>i</sup>.

All which Coins, both of Gold and Silver, were by the Proclamation published, declared and authorized to be current in the Kingdom of Great Britain; and to be received by all the subjects thereof, at the several rates and values contained in the Table annexed, expressing their true values and weights, according to the account of the Mint men of both Nations.

The following Notice is prefixed to the Table: "It is to be remembered that the pound weight English being 12 ounces troy, doth over poix the pound weight of Scotland four pennyweights and nine grains English. Whereupon this Table is made to distinguish every several piece of Gold and Silver Coin according to the true weight of both Nations.

<sup>i</sup> Specimens of this Money may be seen in Plate XVII. of Silver Coins.

The inscriptions prove the intention of James to unite the two Kingdoms, which, however, he was unable to accomplish, although he recommended the measure to his Parliament.



## THE TABLE. k

English Weights.					Scottish Weight.							
Pennyweights 20.	Grains. .... 24.	Mites. .... 20.	Droits. .... 24.	Periers. .... 20.	Blanks. .... 24.	Deniers. .... 24.	Grains. .... 24.	Primes. .... 24.	Seconds. .... 24.	Thirde. .... 24.	Fourths. .... 24.	
Pieces of Gold of	xxs.	6	10	16	18	10						Of these 36 <i>li.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> q. make 12 oz. Scottish or 48 <i>lib.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
	xs.	3	5	8	9	5						
	vs.	1	14	14	4	12						
	iijs.	1	6	19	8	10						
	ij <i>s.</i> vjd.	—	19	7	2	6						

Of these 36 <i>li.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> q. make 12 oz. Scottish or 48 <i>lib.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>											
xxs.	7	21	7	1	9	19					
xs.	3	22	15	12	16	21					
vs.	1	23	7	18	8	10					
iijs.	1	13	20	14	16	8					
ij <i>s.</i> vjd.	—	23	15	21	4	5					

Of these 3 <i>li.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> q. oz. make 4 <i>li.</i> 1— 5. 1 <i>d.</i> ob. di. q. di. di q.											
vs.	23	15	21	5	—	13					
ij <i>s.</i> vjd.	11	19	22	14	12	6					
xij <i>d.</i>	4	17	13	20	1						
vjd.	2	8	18	22	—	12					
ijd.	—	18	22	7	8	4					
jd.	—	9	11	3	16	2					
ob.	—	4	17	13	20	1					

Of these 37 <i>li.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> make a pound weight troy.											
xxs.	6	10	16	18	10						
xs.	3	5	8	9	5						
vs.	1	14	14	4	12						
iijs.	1	6	19	8	10						
ij <i>s.</i> vjd.	—	19	7	2	6						

Of these 3 <i>li.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> make a pound weight troy.											
vs.	19	8	10	8							
ij <i>s.</i> vjd.	9	16	5	4							
xij <i>d.</i>	3	20	18	1	10						
vjd.	1	22	9	—	15						
ijd.	—	15	9	16	5						
jd.	—	7	14	20	2	12					
ob.	—	3	17	10	1	6					

**k Proclamation, MS. penes Auctorem. It is printed in Rymer, vol. XVI. p. 605, but without the Table.**

The Proclamation bore date on the 8th of April, 1603, and began with stating, that the two Kingdoms being united and incorporated together, it was necessary for commerce and trade between the subjects of the same, that the true value at which certain pieces of his Majesty's Coin of Scotland should be current in England should be made known and published. And his Majesty, having found upon trial, and certificate, by the Officers of his Mint within the Tower of London, that the Coin of Scotland called the Six Pound Piece of Gold was of the fineness of twenty-two carats, and that six of those pieces made an ounce; and also that the Scottish Mark Piece of Silver was of the value of thirteen Pence Halfpenny sterling; did therefore publish and declare, that the Six Pound Piece should from henceforth be current in England for ten Shillings sterling, and the Mark Piece for thirteen Pence Halfpenny<sup>u</sup>; at which rates all persons were commanded to accept and receive the same<sup>x</sup>.

Soon after his accession it was found necessary to issue a Proclamation, in Ireland, in order to confirm and enforce the currency of the Money of the new

<sup>u</sup> Dr. Grey is at a loss to say whence the sum of thirteen Pence Halfpenny was called Hangman's Wages, unless it was in allusion to the Halifax Law, by which every felon, taken within the liberties, with goods stolen to that value, was to suffer death. [Hudibras, part III. canto II. note on line 751.] Mr. Watson asks, "might not the Scotch mark, which was made current in England in the reign of James I. have been made the standard for convicting capitally at Halifax, and this piece, or the value of it, be the usual gratuity to the executioner." [History of Halifax, page 222.] This fixes the proportion of the Scotch Coins to the English at one to twelve.

<sup>x</sup> Proclamation. MS. penes Auctorem.

standard, which had been ordained by Proclamation on the 24th of January in the last year, because some ignorant and misconceiving persons had affirmed, that, by the death of the late Queen, the force and effect of that Proclamation was determined; and in consequence the Money of that standard had been refused by many<sup>y</sup>.

On the 21st of May the King renewed the Indentures with the Master and Worker of his Mint, Sir Richard Martyn, for the coining of new Monies, the same both in goodness and weight, as those directed by the Indentures of the 43d of Queen Elizabeth<sup>z</sup>; with this variation only, that the title of King of Scotland was added to the style, and the arms of Scotland were placed in the second quarter of the shield, and those of Ireland, which then appeared for the first time upon the Money, in the third quarter.

As the rebellion in Ireland was now entirely suppressed, the reasons for circulating a base Coinage in that kingdom no longer existed; therefore an Indenture was made, upon the 20th of August, by which it was provided that Shillings and Sixpences, nine ounces fine, should be coined for the use of that realm<sup>a</sup>.

The currency of these pieces was established by a Proclamation which was issued on the 11th of October following. It began with a representation of

<sup>y</sup> Proclamation, April 18, 1603. Simon, Appendix, No XXV.

<sup>z</sup> Folkes, p. 66. The Indenture which Lowndes has placed under this year, belongs to the next following, as is evident from its containing the Britain Crown.

<sup>a</sup> Leake, p. 293. See Specimens of this Coinage, Supplement, Part II.

1555. By another Indenture, for English Money, dated on the 16th of July<sup>p</sup> in this year, the pound weight of Gold, of the old standard, of 23 carats 19½ grains, was to be coined into forty Pounds Sterling; or into twenty-seven Rose Rialls at thirty Shillings a piece, or fifty-four Spur Rialls at fifteen Shillings; or eighty-one Angels at ten Shillings each. 1556. On the 1st of November, in this year, a Proclamation was set forth to abolish the use of the wickerlings, with respect to the Coins of Ireland. It began with stating, that his Majesty had not only redressed the base Money of the late Queen, first to one third of its current value, and afterwards to one quarter; but also had established a new standard of nine ounces fine, being the old standard of the kingdom of Ireland, and had ordained that every piece thereof, which bore the name of a Shilling, should go current and be taken for twelve Pence sterling, and the other pieces in proportion. Which word sterling had bred an error: being construed as if every of the said Harp Shillings should be taken for sixteen Pence of the Money of Ireland, and so should carry as high a valuation as the sterling Shilling of England; whereas in truth his Highness' meaning was, that every of the said Harp Shillings should here and bear the name and value only of twelve Pence Irish, according to the old standard of that realm, being in the value no more than nine Pence English.

It was therefore intended, that, from the date of the Proclamation, the said word sterling should

<sup>p</sup> This date is given from *Deane*, p. 275. <sup>q</sup> *Lowndes*, page 53.

not be applied to the said Harp Shillings, but in that respect should be utterly abolished in the said realm; and that every Silver Harp Shilling, of the standard of nine ounces fine, should be called twelve Pence Irish, or twelve Pence current Money of Ireland, and not twelve Pence sterling, or twelve Pence current Money of England. And that every person who should pay or receive twelve Pence Irish, or twelve Pence lawful Money of Ireland, should pay or receive one Harp Shilling of nine ounces fine, and not Sixpence Halfpenny Farthing (as of late had been used); and that every person who should pay or receive twelve Pence sterling, or twelve Pence lawful Money of England, should pay or receive sixteen Pence of the said new Harp Money. But it was provided, that all payments to be made to any person, being warranted only by list, establishment, or concordatum already made and past, and not by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, or special direction from his Majesty, should be made according to the rate or standard of the said new Harp Money, being the lawful Money of Ireland, and not according to the standard of English Money.

And, to avoid the ambiguity which the word sterling had occasioned in contracts, &c. it was commanded, that the word of current, or of lawful Money of Ireland should be used; by which should be understood Money of the said standard of nine ounces fine, proper to the kingdom of Ireland.

1607. When Queen Elizabeth altered the standard of the Coins of Ireland, she forbade the use of all

other Money within that realm, and especially of the Money of England, so that the said Money, since that time, was in the nature of Bullion only within the said kingdom. It was now, however, found necessary to revive the use of English Money in Ireland, because the Coins of the new standard could not be made in England and sent over with such speed as his Majesty's service did many times require, nor in quantity sufficient for his subjects' use. This was done by Proclamation upon the 19th of May, 1607, according to the following rates; viz. the pieces of twelve Pence, or the Shilling of England, to be current for sixteen Pence of the new standard Money of Ireland; and all other pieces in proportion. And as his Majesty would, from time to time, send the Money of England into Ireland for his own service and affairs, so all his subjects were assured that they might safely receive and pass in payment such Money, notwithstanding any Proclamation, &c. made by the late Queen, or by the King's Majesty, or by any Lord Deputy, &c. to the contrary<sup>s</sup>.

At this time it was reported, by some persons, that all men were at liberty to carry out of the realm Gold or Silver, in Coin, Plate, &c. His Majesty having heard this report, consulted with the Judges upon the point, who unanimously resolved, that such exportation was absolutely forbidden by divers Statutes; and in consequence a Proclamation was issued upon the 9th of July for putting those Statutes into execution<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XXIX.

<sup>t</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

1608. About this year the King sent Walter Bashee, Assay Master to Goldsmiths' Hall, to the Emperor of Russia, for the purpose of making for him a standard of Gold and Silver in his Mint, equivalent to that of the Tower of London<sup>u</sup>; which shows the high estimation in which that standard was held upon the Continent.

1609. In this year Commissioners were appointed to consider of the Mint affairs of the Tower of London, and of the cause of the transportation of the Monies of the realm, and of convenient remedies to prevent the same. The causes they observed to be these; the weight, the fineness of the standard, the valuation of the Monies, and therein the proportion between Gold and Silver; and the abuse of exchange for Monies by Bills, wherein all the former were included. The difference of weight, fineness, valuation, and disproportion aforesaid, they declared in their certificate, were not of themselves true causes of exportation, if there were betwixt Countries and Country a due course holden in the exchange of Money; but that due course not being observed, then they might accidentally be causes. And this course they stated to be the cause of the overbalancing of foreign commodities, increased by the immoderate use of them, and neglect to set the people on work; so that the remedy was wholly found to consist in reforming the abuse of Exchange. It seems strange that they should consider that

<sup>u</sup> Bushell's Abridgement of Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Prosecutions, 4to. London, 1650, at No 9 of the third paging.

<sup>x</sup> Lex Mercatoria, part II. chap. 8. Gerrard Malynes, the author of this work, was one of the Commissioners; the others

to be the sole cause, when they state that the English Coins overweighed those of other Countries in such proportions as to account sufficiently for the exportation.

1611. On the 9th of May, in his 10th year, the King was (as usual) present at the trial of the Pix, and diligently viewed and examined the state of his Money and Mint.

It was probably in consequence of this examination, that a Proclamation was published, upon the 28th of the same month, forbidding all persons (except the Officers of the Mint, for the service and employment thereof) to melt any Coins, to make plate, &c. or for any other use, or to cull Coins to export, melt, &c. In this Proclamation his Majesty said that he had been informed daily, by the Officers of his Mint, and otherwise, that it was a frequent practice with goldsmiths, and others, to weigh the Money, and to cull out such as were more weighty than the rest; some part of which Money so culled, he had found (when it pleased

him) to be used by Thomas Lord Knyvet, Sir Richard Martin, John Williams, the King's Goldsmith, and others.

Leake, p. 275, who quotes Stow. Though Stow's words are *as usual*, this is the first instance which I have met with of King James's presiding at a trial of this kind. At subsequent periods I believe it was usual for him so to do.

From a Letter written by Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Arthur Throckmorton on the 8th of this month, it should seem that the preparations then made for this trial were somewhat unusual. He says, "My Lord my brother is returned a day sooner than he thought, out of Kent, for that the King (who is now at Hampton Court) hath appointed all his Counsellors, and all the Judges, to meet him here to-morrow about matters of the Mint, as it is voiced perhaps in some greater subject, and yet Money is a great one." [Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 4th edit. p. 276.]



him to enter into the examination thereof himself) to be daily openly sold to goldsmiths, and by them employed for the making of plate, &c.; and some part to be exported, for private men's particular gain, whereby great scarcity of good Money was likely to ensue unless a remedy was quickly applied.

For this purpose the King consulted with his Privy Council (and with divers gentlemen of quality and discretion), and called before them Merchants of every trade, the Officers of the Mint, and goldsmiths of the best sort, in order that he might the better ground his resolutions upon such informations and discoveries, as either art, experience, or the knowledge of the affairs abroad could afford.

In consequence of the inquiries then made it was concluded, that the exportation of Gold was the cause which required to be removed, and that this could be effected only by diminishing the gain which arose from that practice.

It was therefore resolved to raise the Gold Coins so as to make them of equal value with the price of Gold in foreign parts, (for at that time the Unit, which was current here, at twenty Shillings, was valued abroad at twenty-two Shillings, and other Coins in proportion) but not to make any alteration in the weight or fineness of the standard.

The Silver Coins were to remain as before, because, as all trades and payments were so much driven and made with them, cause would be given to raise the prices of all things vendible, which his Majesty sought by all means to avoid.

This resolution was carried into effect, by declaring the following pieces of Gold to be current at

z Proclamation in the Society of Antiquaries Library.

these prices, by a Proclamation which bore date on the 23d of November.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
The Unit . . . . .	at	22	0	The Half Crown at	2 9
Double Crown . . . . .		11	0	Coin of Gold of	
Britain Crown . . . . .		5	6	Scotland, called	
Thistle Crown . . . . .		4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	the <i>vi li</i> piece	11 0

Not current in Scotland : s. d.

Rose Royal . . . . .	23	0
Spur Royal . . . . .	16	6
Angel . . . . .	11	0

These are called in the Proclamation, "our own Coin."

All other Coins of Gold of his Majesty's Progenitors in proportion, *viz.*

Every piece of Gold formerly current for

s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.
30	0	. . . . .	at 33	0	10	0	. . . . .	at 11	0
20	0	. . . . .	22	0	5	0	. . . . .	5	6
15	0	. . . . .	16	6	2	6	. . . . .	2	9

And as this raising the value of the Gold Coins would probably be the means of making Gold to be more usual in payments than it had of late been, it was thought proper to check the circulation of light pieces, by declaring (according to the precedent of a Proclamation of the 29th of Elizabeth, and which continued in force until her death) that it should be free and lawful for all persons to refuse all pieces of Gold which should be lighter than according to the following remedies or abatements:

In every piece of Gold current for

s.	d.		grains.		s.	d.		grains.
30	0	not to exceed	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	0			2
20	0		3	5	0			1
15	0		2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	6			$\frac{1}{2}$

And the former Statutes against the exportation of Gold, were declared to be still in force, as the Statute made at York 9 B. III. called the Statute of Money, cap. 1, 6, 9, and 10; and the Statute of the 2d of H. IV. cap. 5.

It was also commanded, that the Mayors and Bailiffs, in every port where Merchants and Ships might be, and all others to whom the same should or might appertain, should take the oath of Masters of Ships and Merchants, according to the true meaning of the Statute of the 9th of Edward III.; and that all Customers, Searchers, Comptrollers, and all other the King's Officers and Ministers whatsoever, to whom it appertained, were ordered so carefully and diligently to execute their several offices, as that the said Statutes might be duly and effectually executed, on pain of the greatest punishment that by the Laws might be inflicted upon them<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Proclamation in the Collection of Francis Douce, Esq. This enhancement of the Coins is said, by Malynes, to have been occasioned by a representation which was made to the King by the late Earl of Dunfermling (Lord Chancellor of Scotland) in the year 1610, respecting the current value of French Gold Coins in England. He stated that the Crown of the Sun, which never went all Queen Elizabeth's time above 6s. English Money, did then go for 7s. 3d. and the English Double Sovereign of 20s. went in France for 11 Franks or 22 Shillings; and that both ways there had been no alteration in the standard. This was proved, by Malynes, to be occasioned by the enhancing of Gold in England from 55s. the ounce to 60s. and by the advance of the French Crown in France, five Sous in specie; and it was advised not to attempt to remedy this by a further enhancement of English Gold, but to do it by regulating the price of the Exchange between England and France. This advice was not followed; and the consequence, says Malynes, has been "the

This was followed by another Proclamation, dated upon the 24th of May, which contains a curious specimen of self-flattery, and at the same time such proofs of ignorance of the principles of commerce, and such hardness of assertion respecting the nature of the prices which were then affixed upon the precious metals, that I think the greater part of it is worthy of being laid at length before my readers:

"The King's most excellent Majestie having of late published, a Proclamation for raising of the prices of his Coynes of Gold, as a provident remedy for the stay of treasure within the realm, whereof thereof hath followed a good effect; hath now thought good, according to his princely nature and custome, *(which contenteth not itself, except it proceed from*

loss of our Silver in Bullion or weighty Coin," *Lex Mercatoria*, part III. chap. 18.

"This enhancement of the Gold, if it did not occasion the scarcity of Silver Coin, yet much increased it. To make it more plenty, Captain Hayes proposed to raise the price of Silver, by coining at 10 oz. 10 dyts. fine, and 64 Shillings to the pound troy.

"From a Report made by the Solicitor General, dated July 16, 1619, and signed Tho. Parry, Mr. Bacon, it appears that the Officers of the Mint, and some principal Merchants, being consulted with respect to the cause of the scarcity of Silver, and the expediency of raising the price of Silver being mentioned, the result was as follows, "Upon this point it is fit we should give your Lordships to understand what the Merchants intimated to us, that the very voycing, and suspence, of raising the price of Silver, if it be not done, would make such a deadness and reticence of Money, this vacation, as (to use their own words) would be a miserie to the Merchants; so that we were forced to use protestation, that there was no such intent." [Snelling's *Silver Coinage*, p. 55, note, quoting Sir Julius Caesar's MS. Collections, folio 62 and 187.]

*one degree to another in that which is for the good of his people) to extend his owne coveys, and to extend them farther; that not only the treasure may be stayed within the realme, whereof the Kingdome is possessed, but also; that further quantities of treasure may, by all just wayes and means, be drawn into the same. And having, by grave and mature consultation, taken knowledge of two extreames (the Constitution of this Kingdome considered) the one, if forraine Coyns should be made current amongst his people: the other, if all persons should import Gold or Silver, either in forraine Coyne or Bullion, should be enforced to bring it to the Mint: His Maiesty being inclined to a course of moderation and moderation, as that which is the part of a wise King to find out, and of a good King to practise, and put in execution, hath in this case, by the advise of his Priue Councell, and by the good liking of divers principall merchants, which were called to the consultation, resolved, rejecting the two extreames, only to set a price certaine upon forraine Coynes and Bullion at the Mint, and to rate that price at such a reasonable proportion as may rather incite, than discourage the merchant, or others, to bring the same both into the realme and to his Maiesties Mint, and according to this resolution hath caused the Indenture of his Mint to be altered and renewed. Wherein it will be visible to all men, that his Maiesty, in consideration of the publick good, and wealth of his Kingdome, is content to depart with benefite, or, at least, to adventure certaineties, having yeelded to set such a price upon the said Bullion and forraine Coyne, as amounteth to little more than halfe of the profite*

which his Maiestie was to take for his Coynage; which, whether it will be recompensed in the quantitie of that which may come in, is a thing casuall and uncertaine.

“But because it were in vaine for his Maiestie to expect profite at his Mint, *if merchants or goldsmiths be permitted to over-buy his Majesty<sup>b</sup>*, and so divert such as would bring the said Bullion and forraine Coynes to the Mint, which likewise cannot but turne to the detriment of the realme: (as in reason all overprides must, of any thing that is not native :) Therefore his Maiestie, by the aduise aforesaid, hath thought good by this present Proclamation to restraine, that the prices of the said Bullion and forraine Coyne, betweene subiect and subiect, doe not excede his Maiestie's prices at the Mint, as on the other side his Maiestie hath taken no course to worke upon his subiects by restraining them to a lesse price then himselfe giveth, but leaveth it indifferent, and at the election of his louing subiects, where to resorte upon equall benefite.

“Wherefore his Maiestie doth straitly charge and command, that no person whatsoever, within his Maiestie's Kingdome, do give, by way of payment, exchange, computation, or any other meanes whatsoever, directly or indirectly, for any Bullion or forrayne Coyne, above the prices hereafter rated; and that no person also doe demaund, take, or bargain for, above the said prices, upon pain of forfeiture of double the value of the said Bullion, or pieces of forraine Coyne, as well upon the giver as the taker, and of imprisonment, and of such other

<sup>b</sup> If his Majesty had fixed a fair value, how could the Merchants, &c. afford to overbuy him?

penalties, as by the lawes, and by his Maiestie's prerogative royall, may be inflicted upon them.

“And it is to be understood, *that whereas the said rates are not precisely reduced to the finenesse of the said pieces and Bullion, yet the same were guided by the valuation of the Merchants, which are best acquainted with the severall rates at which they are accepted abroad, where use sometimes prevaieth more then any exact computation*.”

“The prices of Gold, which the bringers in of forreine Coines of Gold, or other Bullion of Gold, to the Mint, shall receive at the Mint, which prices no other person shall exceed:—

“For an ounce of French Crownes, being *xxij* carrots fine, *iiijl. vjs.*

“For euery ounce of Spanish Pistolets, being *xxj* carrots *ij* graine and a halfe fine, *iiijl. vjs.*

“For Duckets of Spaine, being *xxij* carrots *i* graine fine at least, the ounce *iiijl. viijs. viijd.*

“For Milreas, Crusado long crosse, Crusado short crosse, the ounce *iiijl. vjs. ijd.*

“For Hungary Duckets, being *xxij* carrots *i* graine fine at least, the ounce *iiijl. ix.*

“For the Checkeene of Venice, being *xxij* carrots *i* graine fine at least, the ounce *iiijl. xs.*

“For Barbary Gold, being *xxij* carrots *di.* graine fine, at the least, the ounce *iiijl. ix.*

“Is it possible that his Majesty, assisted by the wisdom of his Privy Council, and the sagacity of a number of Merchants, could persuade himself that the advantage which could be made of this usage in the foreign Mints was not known to every dealer in Bullion; and that any man would bring Coins or Bullion to a Mint, where he was not permitted to take advantage of such knowledge?

to find if the said Barbary Gold be of lesse finenesse, adjustment must be made according to that rate.

For Sultanes, being xxxij carrots i graine fine at least, the ounce vijl. vijs. viijl.

For all other Gold, being xxij carrots fine, the ounce iijl. vis.

And being finer, a greater price according to that rate, and being coarser a lesse; so that the bringer in supply the lesse fine with the more fine, in such sort that in the totall it make good the said rate of xxij carrots fine.

The Price of Silver, &c. as the Gold.

For the ounce of Spanish Silver Money of Castile, viz.

For the ounce of Silver of Mexico Money, viz.

For Ingots of Silver, being xj ounces ij dwts. fine, according to the standard of England, the ounce vs.

And for other Silver of more finenesse a better price, according to that rate; and for coarser a lesse; so that the bringer in supply the lesse fine with the more fine, in such sort that in the totall it make good the said rate of xj ounces ij dwts. fine, according to the standard of England.

The Indenture which was alluded to in this Proclamation was dated upon the 18th of the same month, and raised the price of Gold two Shillings in every pound, according to the Proclamation of the 23d of November in the last year. By the

Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

e Leake, page 277. This statement is not quite correct, for the Gold of the old standard was not raised exactly in this proportion; the Gold of twenty-two carats was.



provisions which it contained, the pound weight of the old standard Gold was to be coined into forty-four Pounds by tale; viz. Rose Rials, Spur Rials, and Angels; and a pound weight of Gold of twenty-two carats fine was coined into forty Pounds eighteen Shillings and four Pence; viz. into Unites at twenty-two Shillings, Double Crowns at eleven Shillings, British Crowns at five Shillings and six Pence, Thistle Crowns at four Shillings and four Pence three Farthings, or Half British Crowns at two Shillings and nine Pence a-piece.

This expedient of lowering the standard of the Coins was adopted contrary to the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, who recommended an attempt to lessen the imports and to increase the exports, and to allow the bringers-in of Bullion to trade outward the value thereof in domestick commodities at an abated custom; as the most probable means of furnishing the Mint with a continual supply of Bullion. And said further, that on account of the neglect of these things, the want of Bullion was at that time such, that there was not Money in specie sufficient to pay the lenders their principal, so that usury was paid for Money upon supposition, and not really.

In the Parliament which was holden at Edinburgh on the 23d of October in this year, an Act was passed, intituled, "An Act pardoning the by past Escapes of some penall Statuts therein mentioned."

Lowndes, p. 53. The date of this Indenture is recited in Pat. 15 J. I. p. 13. dors. Rymer, vol. XVII. p. 19. At the death of Prince Henry in the month of November, in this year, it appears that £2,000 of Coinage Custom made a part of his yearly revenue. [Archæologia, vol. XV. p. 15.]

S Cottoni Posthuma, page 197.

Amongst these were the Acts of Parliament made anent transporting of Gold and Silver, and the Acts anent whissiling [exchanging] of Gold and Silver, and taking therefore above the King's pryce.<sup>b</sup>

The want of Coins of small value had, at this time, occasioned the increase of a practice which greatly needed reformation: Private Traders, finding themselves unable to carry on their business without smaller Money than the legal Coins, were driven, by necessity, to provide something to supply the deficiency of the lawful currency; and accordingly they had, for some years past, struck Farthing Tokens, as they were called, in lead.<sup>i</sup>

1613. Both the conveniences, and also the evils, which resulted from this infringement of the royal prerogative, were fully stated in the Proclamation by which these illegitimate Coins were abolished upon the 19th of May in the year 1613.<sup>k</sup>

It commenced with an acknowledgement, that in times past some toleration had existed, in the realm,

<sup>b</sup> Parliament James VI. cap. 9. The latter of these Acts was first passed in the 7th Parliament of James V. [March 14, 1540,] with this title—"That na thing be taken for quhisselling of Gold."

Offenders were "to be punished as falsers of the Kingis Grace Money."

The reason assigned for making this Statute, is that "persons havand quhite Money, will not change for Gold, but takis therefore twelve Pennies, or mair, for quhisselling the same. [Scotts Acts, 1540, cap. 99.]

<sup>i</sup> No other metal is mentioned in the Proclamation.

<sup>k</sup> This measure was in agitation some years before it actually took place. Various plans were proposed, some as early as the year 1606; and in 1609 the coining of small Money of Silver was actually suspended, preparatory, I presume, to an intended Coinage of Copper. [Sir J. Caesar's MSS.]

of Tokens of Lead, commonly known by the name of Farthing Tokens, to pass between vintners, tapsters, chandlers, bakers, and other like tradesmen and their customers<sup>1</sup>; whereby such small portions, and quantities, of things vendible, as the necessity, and use, especially of the poorer sort of people, oftentimes required, might be conveniently bought and sold, without enforcement to buy more ware than would serve for their use and occasions. But it objected, that the manner of issuing them, and the use of them, as they passed only between customers, did not that good to the publick which might, by a more general use, be effected. That they were subject to counterfeiting, loss, and deceit; for sometimes they were refused as doubtful things, and sometimes, by the death or removal of those who gave them, were lost and discredited. And also, that it was some derogation to the royal prerogative, that such Tokens should be allowed to have currency, in any degree, with the lawful Money of the realm. Therefore notice was given by the Proclamation, that his Majesty, being willing to continue to his subjects the good arising from the use of such small Monies, under such directions and cautions as might restrain the abuse of them, had

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Cotton, who in the 9th of James recommended a Coinage of small Monies, states, that there were then in London above three thousand that one with another cast yearly five Pounds apiece in leaden tokens, whereof the tenth remained not unto them at the year's end, when they renewed their store, which amounted to above £15,000. The rest of the realm he reckoned not to be inferior to the city in proportion. [The manner and means how the Kings of England have from time to time supported and repaired their estates, Cottoni Posthumus, p. 199.]

*Exton*

given power and authority, by letters patent, to John Lord Harrington<sup>m</sup>, Baron of Exeter, and his executors, administrators, deputies, and assigns, to make such a competent quantity of Farthing Tokens of Copper, as might be conveniently issued amongst his subjects, within the realms of England and Ireland, and the dominion of Wales, during the term mentioned in the said letters patent<sup>n</sup>. That it was not his Majesty's intention thereby to make them Monies, nor to force his subjects to receive them in payments<sup>o</sup>, otherwise than with their own good liking, but only to give them licence and means to use

<sup>m</sup> From the name of the patentee, these tokens were called Harrington's: thus in Drunken Barnaby's Journal, part III. p. 82.

"VENI HARRINGTON, BONUM OMEN!

Vere amans illud nomen,

HARRINGTON dedit NUMMUM.

Et fortune pondus NUMMUS,

Indigenti postulanti,

Benedictionem danti.

Thence to Harrington he it spoken!

For name-sake I gave a token

To a beggar that did crave it,

And as cheerfully receive it;

More, he need not me importune,

For 'twas th' utmost of my fortune."

<sup>n</sup> The patent was dated upon the 10th of April, 1613, for the term of three years; and Lord Harrington "covenanted to accompt quarterly, and to pay into the receipt whatsoever the benefit should amount unto within the said three years above £20,000, all charges deducted, and a recognizance of £20,000 was entered into by him to performe the clause of accompt." [Sir J. Caesar's Papers, folio 88.]

<sup>o</sup> Sir Robert Cotton had proposed, that none should be enforced to take any but in sums under twenty Shillings, and then but the twentieth part proportionably. [Cottoni Posthuma, p. 199.]

them, according to their occasions, and that without any fee, charge, or constraint in anywise imposed upon them:

The Proclamation further declared, that the said Farthing Tokens should be made exactly and artificially of Copper, by engines and instruments, having on the one side two sceptres, crossing under one diadem, and on the other side a harp crowned with the King's title, *JACOBUS DEI GRATIA REX BRITANNIE FRANCE ET IBERIE*, &c. with a privy mark to be set upon them, from time to time, whereby to discern and distinguish them, and to be altered according to occasion, for preventing the falsifying and counterfeiting of the same. Such Farthing Tokens to pass for the value of Farthings within the King's realms and dominions, with the liking and consent of his loving subjects.

And therefore it was commanded, by the Proclamation, that, after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, next following the date thereof, no person should use, deliver, or receive any such Leaden Tokens as were formerly tolerated, nor make or counterfeit such Farthing Tokens of Copper, or the engines or instruments by which they should be made, nor utter any other Farthing Tokens whatsoever, upon such pains, penalties, and imprisonments, as might be inflicted by the Statutes of the realm of England, and by the King's prerogative royal.

In order for the better distributing and dispersing these Farthing Tokens, the Lord Harrington was bound to deliver at the rate of one and twenty

P A specimen of this Coinage is given in Supplement, Part II.

Shillings in Farthing Tokens, for every twenty Shillings in sterling Money; and also for the space of one year, until the said Tokens should have grown into more general use, and were well dispersed, to deliver to any person who should find himself surcharged with more of them than he could conveniently utter for his use and occasions, the sum of twenty Shillings in sterling Money, for every sum of one and twenty Shillings in Farthing Tokens, and after that rate for lesser sums, where any tradesman should require the same. All Magistrates, &c. were commanded to assist Lord Harrington in circulating them <sup>a</sup>.

These Tokens were circulated at first with great difficulty; and in several Counties, as Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire, they absolutely refused to take them, although they were countenanced by the Magistrates (as the Proclamation required) and by dispersed printed bills. Even in those Counties where they did then take them, it was but in small quantities; so that in six months time they had hardly uttered £600. The rechange likewise at first was very heavy; and a report being spread that they were to be altered, and that the old ones would not be taken, it increased to forty and fifty Pounds a week <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. By the terms of the patent Lord Harrington was to take one half of the profits; but the King being informed, whilst the patent was under the privy seal, that the grant was worth £60,000, allowed to him £25,000 as it should be raised by issuing the Tokens, and the surplus, if any, was to come to the King. [Snelling's Copper Coinage, p. 6.]

<sup>r</sup> Snelling's Copper Coinage, page 8. Gerrard Malynes was the inventor of the Farthing Tokens; and he says that Envy,

The Spanish Coins (which had hitherto been permitted to circulate in the realm) were now so generally clipped and impaired, that the loss to the receiver was most commonly no less than a full third part, and, by reason of the great gain to be made, vast quantities of those light Coins were imported, and, being mixed with his Majesty's Money, were passed away at the very full value which they were made to bear provided they were not defective. Such light Spanish Monies were therefore forbidden, by Proclamation, to be received or paid, on pain of fine or imprisonment, to be adjudged by the Court of Star Chamber, or any other Court of Law. And it was commanded that such defective Spanish Coins should be, with all convenient expedition, brought into the Mint in the Tower, to be coined into current Money, where the owners should receive present payment for the same, according to their true weight and value in Bullion<sup>a</sup>.

on that account, accused him "that there was an intention to bring in the use of Copper Moneys within the realme; which Tokens are found to bee very commodious and necessary, whereby the waste of much Silver is prevented, the meere poore releevd, and many of their lives saved, and the Common-wealth cannot be without them, unlesse Leaden Tokens were made againe in derogation of his Majesties *Prerogative Royall*." [The Maintenance of Free Trade. London, 8vo, 1622, p. 48.]

<sup>a</sup> Proclamation, dated May 20, 1613, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

In Sir Foulk Greville's [Lord Brook] "Five years of King James," it is said, "that it was rumoured abroad that the Spaniard had drawn out a navy of an hundred sail, whether intended against England or elsewhere was not known. Howsoever, upon this there followed a Proclamation, against Spanish Money, that their Money should not be current in England, which caused many to suspect worse than the worst, and some said one thing,

1614. In this year some doubts having arisen, whether upon the death of Lord Harrington the elder, and of his son, the Proclamation respecting the Farthing Tokens still continued in force, so that some persons either refused to use them, or continued to utter their own Tokens of Brass, Copper, and other Metal, or matter; therefore a Proclamation, on the 21st of June, declared that it still remained valid, and that it was confirmed to Lady Ann Harrington (the widow of the late patentee, and executrix of the will of John Lord Harrington her son) and to her assigns.

And the Proclamation ordered that no alteration should be made in the stamp then used<sup>t</sup>.

At this time the King seemed well inclined to erect a Mint in Ireland, for the coining of Money in that realm; the want of which, his Majesty was informed, was an hinderance to commerce and trade amongst his subjects there. The business proceeded so far as to the issuing a warrant to the Wardens of the Mint, to consider the articles which had been proposed to his Majesty, and to confer with the Lord Deputy of Ireland. The effect of the articles was to place the Mint in the hands of Undertakers; but this was objected to by the Wardens, who recommended to his Majesty to keep it in his own power<sup>u</sup>. This I presume occasioned the failure of the scheme.

1614-15. On the 23d of March following a Pro- and some another. [Harleian Miscellany, vol. VII, p. 411.] The Proclamation, above, is probably that which occasioned the alarm here mentioned.

<sup>t</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>u</sup> Sir J. Cæsar's MSS. folios 276, 278, 280.



clamation was issued to enforce the Statutes against the exportation of Gold and Silver, in order to prevent the advantage which was taken by foreign Mints of the exactness of his Majesty's justice, and the tenderness of his honour, in keeping the standard of his Coins more invariable than it was in any other place or state of Europe.

The exportation of his Majesty's Coins, in consequence of the profit which was afforded by this adherence to the standard, was so great, that it was notorious, that they passed as usually and familiarly beyond the seas, as if they were the current and proper Money of those parts\*.

1615. It was still found to be extremely difficult entirely to check the circulation of the old Farthing Tokens, and it became necessary to forbid it by Proclamation, and also to order that no one should mark, deface, bore, or clip any of his Majesty's Tokens, and that the currency of such as had already been defaced, should be stopped. The counterfeiting of them, or of the engines by which they were made, was also prohibited†.

1616-17. The undue practices against the Pro-

\* Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. In the course of this month the King was at Cambridge, and in an account of his entertainment there, it is said, that "Paul Tomson, the Gold-clipper, hath his pardon; and not only so, but is absolved a penâ & culpâ; whereby he keeps his livings, and never came to trial; and I heard he had the face to appear in the town whilst the King was there. There are some lines of his in the Harleian Collection, intitled, 'The Soldiers Counterbuff to the Cambridge Interludians of Ignoramus.'" [Nichols's Progresses of Elizabeth, &c. vol. III. p. 124.]

† Proclamation, dated Oct. 26, 1615, in the Antiquary Society's Library.

clamations for establishing the currency of Farthing Tokens, it appears, were still continued, for in a Proclamation dated on the 17th of March, it is stated, that divers chandlers, &c. had, since the publishing of the last ordinance, not only made, used, and uttered their unlawful Tokens, but had also pretended to be overcharged with his Majesty's Farthing Tokens, for want of a due rechange of them into sterling Money (which, by the first Proclamation for their currency, was limited to one year only), and also alledged, that the issuing of them, from the makers, at the rate of twenty-one Shillings in Tokens for twenty Shillings sterling, did breed an inconvenience, and a further surcharge to them (to whose hands the greater part was brought) because many for the gain of twelve Pence in twenty Shillings, would take the Tokens in great sums, and so with the same, and some Money, pay handicraftsmen for their labour at the week's end.

To prevent such practices, it was commanded that the former Proclamations should be observed, and that in future only twenty Shillings in Tokens should be given for twenty Shillings sterling; and that there should be established a continual rechange of them within the City of London, where all persons might receive Money for their Tokens, at the rate of twenty Shillings sterling for twenty-one Shillings in Tokens.

The prohibition of all other Tokens but those of his Majesty's Mint, and of the counterfeiting, &c. them, was also renewed<sup>z</sup>.

1617. By the death of Sir Richard Martin, Mas-

<sup>z</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

ter of the Mint, which happened in the course of this year, a stop was put to the working of the Mint, and those who brought Bullion could not have it made into Money. It was therefore commanded, by a Writ directed to Thomas Lord Knyvet, and Edmund Doubleday, Esq. Wardens, which bore date upon the 23d of August, that such Coins as had been made by Sir Richard Martin, and Richard Martin his son, in virtue of an Indenture of the 18th of May 1612, should still continue to be made <sup>a</sup>.

1617-18. On the 22d of March a Proclamation was issued, in which it was stated that in order to prevent abuses by the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Thread, and for the preservation of Bullion, the King had caused the whole work to be taken into his possession, rather than to leave it to the dispose and power of private men. As this his care and good intention had been interrupted of late by the importation of Gold and Silver Thread, and by making the same privately and in corners, contrary to the patent of privilege heretofore granted; therefore the importation of it was forbidden, and also the making it, except by those licensed, on pain of forfeiture. The Proclamation also recited, and enforced, the Statute of the 4th of Henry VII. relating to refiners, and forbade the making any engine, &c. for drawing, &c. of Gold and Silver Thread. And it was further commanded, that no one should buy or sell any, but such as was sealed with the seal appointed for that use <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Pat. 15 J. I. p. 13. dors. Rymer, vol. XVII. p. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Proclamation in the collection belonging to the Privy Council.

In the tenth year of the King's reign he, by a Proclamation dated upon the fourteenth of May, set the prices of foreign Gold and Silver, in their several species, for the better staying of treasure within the realm, and also for the procuring and inviting of the same to be brought as well into his Kingdom as into his Mint. But that Proclamation not having been so duly obeyed and observed as it ought, his Majesty did, by a Proclamation which was issued upon the fourth of February in his sixteenth year, 1618-19, command that it should, for the time to come, be more straightly put into execution. He, however, declared, that it was not his intention thereby to revoke, or discharge, any liberty which the East India Company (being a Company which so well deserved to be upheld and encouraged) had, or ought to have, by the lawful use and practice of their Charter. And because the drawing of Monies into the Goldsmiths' hands by turning Silver into Gold, upon profit of exchange, made it more ready to be engrossed by the Merchant for transportation to Mints abroad, and that such profit, to be taken upon change of Monies, had been prohibited by law; therefore his Majesty did forbid such profit to be taken, above the rates at which such Monies had been declared to be current, on pain of forfeiture of the same, and of such further punishment, as by the laws, or by the prerogative royal, might be inflicted.

It was also commanded, that no Goldsmith, nor other person, should melt any Coins of his Majesty's realm, or current within the same, but should make plate of old plate, of foreign Bullion or Coin, or of Silver burnt out of lace, or the like, upon pain

of forfeiture of double the value of the said Coins, and such other punishment as aforesaid, the better to keep the Gold and Silver of the Kingdom in Money and Coin.

And to diminish the waste of Gold and Silver Foliate, it was ordered, that, after six months, it should not be employed in any building, &c. &c. or any ornaments whatsoever, except for armour or weapons, or in arms or ensigns of honour, at funerals, or monuments of the dead, on pain of forfeiture of the same materials or works, and further punishment as contemners of his Majesty's royal commandment<sup>c</sup>.

About this time "the scarcity of Silver was the subject of much consideration and inquiry. Proclamations (as above) were issued against the exportation of it, and several schemes were proposed for the drawing it into the Mint. It was particularly advised, that the weight of the Money should be lessened, and this proceeded so far, that directions were actually given to the Attorney-General, on the 21st of February, to prepare new Indentures for the Mint, whereby the pound weight troy of standard Silver should be coined into 66 Shillings. But these directions were soon after recalled, and the designed alteration of the Silver Coins was ordered to be suspended for twelve months, upon a report made to the Council, on the 25th of April, 1619, by several eminent Merchants, whose advice had been desired in a consultation with the Ministers on that occasion<sup>d</sup>. This intended alteration does not

<sup>c</sup> Proclamation in the Antiquary Society's Library.

<sup>d</sup> Folkes, page 70. I believe that this statement by Folkes is not correct. It appears, from the Privy Council Registers, that

appear after this to have been thought of any more ; and indeed Silver about the same time began to come again into the Mint in greater plenty than it had done for some years before.”<sup>c</sup>

On the 31st of July a Proclamation was issued for reforming sundry inconveniences touching the Coins of the realm. It commenced with stating, that, notwithstanding his Majesty's care, greater quantities of light Gold, than in any former age had been known, were daily and continually uttered, and not only so, but the weightiest of the Coins, being culled out and sorted, were transported into foreign parts, to the impoverishing of the realm. Therefore his Majesty had resolved to make trial, if by proposal of benefit to such persons as should further his intention, though with his own apparent

the question of raising the value of the Money was considered on the 30th of March, 1619, and, as the King was then absent in Scotland, the final result was postponed until his return. In the mean time, however, they declare, “that they do not see any necessity to raise the Coin of any kind ; but rather that this would draw with it much inconvenience—and because the noise thereof through the City of London hath already done hurt to the whole nation, and interrupted the general course of trade, think it very necessary that some signification be made of the Council Board, that the King has no purpose to raise the Coins, at this time, but to continue the same as now they be, which would give great satisfaction to the subjects.” [Minutes communicated by G. Chalmers, Esq.] The Report, mentioned by Folkes, is not in the Register, nor any further proceedings, so far as they have been examined, that is, to Feb. 1630.

<sup>c</sup> Folkes, p. 70. “It does not appear what was the occasion of this change, but the fact was this : that in the four years from April 1, 1617, to the 4th of February, 1620, there was only coined at the Tower in Silver Money the sum of £1070. 15s. 4d. and that in the four following years, to the 31st of March, 1625, there was coined the sum of £295,500. 16s. 2d.” [Folkes's note.]

loss, he might advance the plenty and abundance of Coin within his realm.

In pursuance of this resolution, he had ordered the profit of his Coinage to be reduced, for one year, from 26 Shillings and four Pence for every pound weight of Gold, together with some profit from shearing at the Mint, to fifteen Shillings only, including also the gain by shearing, and likewise had commanded that the Officers of his Mint should, from henceforth, according to the antient law and custom of the realm (ratified by authority of Parliament in the 25th year of King Edward III. and in the 9th of King Henry V.) receive Gold and Silver into the Mint by weight, and should deliver the Monies thereof, when they should be made, by weight, or by number, at the election of him who should receive the same, without delay or difficulty.

And whereas the advancing of the Gold Coins, at the rate of two Shillings in twenty, had been found inconvenient, on account of their unaptness for sale, occasioning fractions and perplexities in reckonings, and by the inequality of the sum causing persons in some disbursements of Gold, to deliver more than otherwise they would if the Coin had been of an even proportion; therefore his Majesty had thought it meet to forbear the stamping any more of those unequal Coins, and to reduce the Monies hereafter to be made to the antient value of Coin in use before the said advancement; those Coins, however, which were already in circulation, to continue of the same value as they had been, and to be current with the following Coins newly to be made, viz. one piece of fine Angel Gold of the value of thirty Shillings sterling, stamped on the one side with his

Majesty's picture crowned, and in parliament robes, sitting in a chair, and at the feet a portcullis, with the style JACOBUS D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. REX; and on the other side, his arms, with a cross flory, and the number of xxx. A circle about the escutcheon of arms, charged with flower de luces, lions, and roses, with this inscription in an outer circle, A D'NO FACTUM EST ISTUD, ET EST MIRAB. IN OCULIS N'RIS<sup>f</sup>.

Another piece of fine Angel Gold, of the value of fifteen Shillings, stamped on the one side with a lion crowned, holding a sceptre in the one paw, and an escutcheon of the royal arms in the other, marked with the number xv. with the stile aforementioned, and on the other side with a spur rowell, and in the midst thereof a rose, and without the points of the rowell, flower de luces, lions, and crowns, with the forementioned inscription about, A D'NO, &c.<sup>g</sup>

One other piece of fine Angel Gold, of the value of ten Shillings, stamped on the one side with the picture of an angel striking a serpent, with the number of x, and on the other side with a ship with one sail displayed and the royal arms thereon, with the aforesaid inscriptions on either sides<sup>h</sup>.

One other piece of Crown Gold, of the value of twenty Shillings, stamped on the one side with his Majesty's picture crowned with a laurel, with the number of xx, and the stile aforementioned; and on the other side the royal arms crowned, with this inscription about, FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM<sup>i</sup>.

One other piece of Crown Gold, with the like

<sup>f</sup> See Gold Coins, Plate XII. No 5. The legend is abbreviated upon the Coins still more than it is above.

<sup>g</sup> See Gold Coins, Plate XII. No 6.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. No 7.

<sup>i</sup> See Gold Coins, Plate XI. Nos 9 and 10.



impression and inscription on the one side, but with the number of x, and on the other side the royal arms as before, with this inscription, HENRICUS ROSAS, REGNA JACOBUS<sup>k</sup>. And a five Shillings piece of the same fineness, type, and inscription<sup>l</sup>.

And because the abuse of impairing the Gold Coins had grown more frequent than before, by reason that the delivering and receiving the same by weight (a matter agreeable both to antient and modern Laws and Proclamations) had been of late greatly neglected, whereby offenders had more opportunity and encouragement to clip, wash, and diminish the same Coins; his Majesty therefore had thought it good to quicken the said Laws, and former Proclamations; and therefore, (according to the precedent of a Proclamation made in the nine and twentieth year of the late Queen Elizabeth, which continued in force until her decease, and also of the like Proclamation since published by his Majesty, in the ninth year of his reign) his Majesty declared, that, after the first day of September following the date of the Proclamation, it should be free and lawful for all his subjects to refuse in any payments, all pieces of Gold, heretofore coined, which should be lighter than according to the remedies and abatements prescribed by the aforesaid Proclamation made in the ninth year of his reign, *viz.*

In every piece of Gold current for	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 33s. \\ 22s. \\ 15s. 6d. \\ 11s. \\ 5s. 6d. \\ 2s. 9d. \end{array} \right.$	The remedy and abatement not to exceed	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4\frac{1}{2} \text{ grains} \\ 3 \\ 2\frac{1}{2} \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ \frac{1}{2} \end{array} \right.$
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<sup>k</sup> See Gold Coins, Plate XI. No 11.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. No 12.

And all other pieces of Gold which should hereafter be coined, which should be lighter than according to the following remedies or abatements:

In every new piece of Gold current for	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 30s. \\ 20s. \\ 15s. \\ 10s. \\ 5s. \end{array} \right\}$	The remedy and abate- ment not to exceed	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \text{ grains} \\ 2 \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \\ 1 \\ \frac{1}{2} \end{array} \right\}$
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And that all his subjects might have good and just weights, for the weighing of such Coins, notice was given in the Proclamation, that his Majesty had commanded the Master of his Mint within the Tower of London (the appointment thereof being proper and peculiar to his Majesty only) to prepare, before the said first of September, a sufficient number of upright balances, and true weights, as well of every several piece of Gold lawfully current in the realm, as of the said remedies and abatements, to be ready to deliver at reasonable prices (to be rated by the Commissioners of the Treasury, or the Treasurer of England for the time being) to all such as should require the same. And the chief Officers in all Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate, in the Realm of England, and Principality of Wales, were commanded to provide to have one pair of the said weights sufficient, at the hands of the said Master of the Mint, within every City, &c. before the last day of the said month of September, there to be well and safely kept, for trial of the weight of the said Coins, as any occasion should be. And all persons were forbidden to have or use any other weights, than as aforesaid, for the said Coins of Gold, remedies, or abatements <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>m</sup>. Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

The Coins which are described in this Proclamation were (according to Camden's Annals of James I. under this year) made current upon the 3d of September. Those which bore the King's bust crowned with a laurel, soon got the name of Laurels among the vulgar <sup>a</sup>.

The laureat broad piece was never introduced into Scotland, where the Scepter'd Unit, with its Half, Quarter, and Half Quarter, still continued to be coined as before; and probably for this reason, that although it was no longer so convenient for tale in England at the value of twenty-two Shillings, it continued nevertheless to be equally so in Scotland; where the manner of accounting by their own Marks still subsisting, a piece of Gold of twenty Marks Scottish, as the Unit then was, with its parts of ten Marks, &c. was no less convenient and apt for tale, than when the same after its first coinage had course for twenty Shillings sterling <sup>o</sup>.

From a Proclamation, dated upon the 10th of October in this year, it appears, that his Majesty had considered the consumption or preservation of Bullion, of which Coin was made, to be of such importance, that he had heretofore, *with the good liking of the inventors thereof*, taken the manufacture of Gold and Silver Thread into his own hands, and that he did purpose so to retain it, to be exercised only by his agents, who should from time to time be accountable to him for the same. But that, notwithstanding the Proclamation of the 22d of

The same was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 25th of November following.

<sup>a</sup> G. Camdeni regni Regis Jacobi I. annalium apparatus,

<sup>o</sup> Folkes, page 147.

March, 1618; foreign Gold and Silver Thread, unsealed, was brought into the realm.

This Proclamation, therefore, forbade the use of such thread, and ordered that all persons who should work, buy, or receive any lace, &c. wrought of Gold or Silver Thread, should enter the names, &c. of the persons of whom they bought it; and that all persons who should work, &c. the same, should enter into a Bond of £100 or 200 a-piece, and not above, to the Commissioners appointed for the said manufacture, to perform all the particulars above-stated.

And it commanded further, that no Finer of Gold or Silver should hereafter melt, &c. or sell any refined Gold or Silver to any person, until he should have entered into a Bond of £100, or more, before the said Commissioners, to melt none of the King's Coins, for the making of refined Gold or Silver.

And power was given to the Commissioners, taking a constable with them, to search, seize, &c. <sup>p</sup>

On the 25th of November a Proclamation, for reforming sundry inconveniences touching the Coins of his Majesty's realms, was published in Edinburgh. It differed from the English Ordinance of the 31st of July, chiefly in the following respects; *viz.* Charles Dickeson, Sinker of the Irons in the Mint at Edinburgh, was authorized to make the weights, and was commanded to sell them at the price of twelve Shillings usual Money of Scotland, and not at more. And all other persons were forbidden to make or sell any of the said weights, except such as should be made by the said Dickeson, under the pain of falset, and to be punished therefore, in their

<sup>p</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries,

persons and goods, as counterfeiters of his Majesty's weights, with all rigour.

The prices at which the Gold Coins were to be current in Scotland were also set forth; namely,

Angel Gold :

The Rose-Ryal, marked 30s. for 18 Pounds Scottish.

The Spur-Ryal marked 15s. for 9 Pounds Scottish.

The Angel, marked 10s. for 6 Pounds Scottish.

Crown Gold :

The Unit, marked 20s. for 12 Pounds Scottish.

The New Double-Crown, marked 10s. for 6 Pounds Scottish.

The New Britain-Crown, marked 5s. for 3 Pounds Scottish.

And touching all other pieces of Gold which were decried, and ordained to be brought to the Coin-house, that the owner should receive there, in ready and thankful payment, for every ounce weight of Gold of 22 carats fine, the sum of thirty-nine Pounds three Shillings five Pence; and for all other Gold proportionally for every ounce, denier, and grain weight thereof<sup>q</sup>.

In a brief of some of the principal points of his Majesty's late Charter to the Company of Gold-beaters in London, which was granted in this year, it was stated, that his Majesty had provided and taken order, that all such Gold and Silver Foliat as should be hereafter made by the Master and Wardens and Commonalty of the said Company, should

<sup>q</sup> Proclamation in Cardonnel's Numismata Scotie, App. No III.

be made out of foreign Coin and Bullion only, and not otherwise.

The Proclamation of the 31st of July, in this year, had been so little attended to, that many persons, instead of refusing such Coins as were without the remedies therein allowed, did accept all Coins whatsoever that were tendered to them, without weighing or examining the true value and goodness thereof.

It therefore became necessary to command, by Proclamation dated February the 7th, 1619-20, that which in the former Ordinance was left to their own free will. Accordingly, all persons were forbidden, on pain of contempt, and of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, to take or receive, after Midsummer next following, any piece of Gold Coin current within the realm, otherwise than according to the rates and remedies specified in the former Proclamation. All which remedies were to be allowed in every piece accordingly, and no deduction or abatement to be made for the same, but the Coins to pass as if they were of full weight and just value.

But if any of those Coins should want more of the true weight than the remedies allowed, then he that should offer the same in payment should pay two Pence for every grain so deficient, to the receiver of such Coin; which, with that allowance, should be taken in payment as if the same were of full and just weight.

But in case the deficiency should be such as that the piece of twenty-two Shillings should want more than three grains above the remedy allowed, and the

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

other pieces in proportion; then all persons were commanded not only to refuse the same, but to brand them; by striking an hole through every such piece when offered in payment; and also through every other piece that should be found soldered or unlawfully debased, returning such pieces immediately to the owners thereof, accordingly as it was ordered by a Proclamation of the 29th of Queen Elizabeth, upon the like occasion.

It was also declared, that all persons bringing Gold to be coined at the Mint should have a just and full return thereof, without diminution, by weight or by number, at their choice, deducting for the Coinage, according to the Proclamation of the 31st of July, 1619.

And it was further ordered, that all the chief officers of Cities, &c. who had neglected to obey the Proclamation relating to scales and weights for Coins, should furnish themselves therewith before the 24th of June, and that no other weights should be used.

1620-21. On the 30th of January, in this year, the Parliament began to sit, and the King came in person, and, amongst other things, commanded the House to consider the trade, for the making thereof better; "and shew me," said he, "the reason why my Mint, for these eight or nine years, hath not gone."

That is, double the weight of the Remy, which was three grains upon the piece of twenty-two Shillings.

Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

Rushworth's Hist. Collections, vol. I. p. 28. The Editors

of the Parliamentary History say that this speech is not genuine. In that given by them from Franklin's Annals, which they state



In consequence of this command Mr. Glenville, upon the 6th of February, offered to the House of Commons the consideration of the Coinage. In the course of the debate, it was stated that the supply of Coin was a principal means of calling the Parliament. The scarcity of Money was represented to be great, so that tenants gave up their farms, and land had fallen from 20 years' purchase to 12, 13, and even to 14. The Mint had not gone for many years. Some supposed this scarcity to be occasioned by too much Money having been carried Northward. Others ascribed it to too much prodigality in apparel and others to the excess of Plate, serving in Silver; to the East India Company's Patent to carry out Coin (but the cessation of the Mint was only since that grant); and to the Patent to stop the importation of Venetian Gold and to make Gold and Silver Lane of Bullion of the realm, by which 100,000. were lost annually in Bullion.

In conclusion, the Committee of Grievances was directed to enquire into it. The Committee made their report on the 10th of March, and on the 11th the House was again called upon to consider his Majesty's request for redress of the scarcity of Money. It was considered that the cause of the scarcity was the want of Money, and for which the cause and remedies were to be considered.

It was represented that clothiers' debts were laid down, by two hundred and a town, that the farther they went to prevent the exportation of Coins, to agree exactly with the Latin abstract in the Journals, the King says, "It is strange that my Mint hath not gone this eight or nine years; but I think the fault of the want of Money is the uneven balancing of trade." [Vol. V. p. 319.] There is some mistake here which is amenable to the Latin abstract in the Journals. It is said that the Mint.

\* Commons Journals, vol. ii. p. 319 seq. is stated as being imported.



was not able to pay his rent; and the merchants who brought in, heretofore, £10,000 per annum in Bullion, did not now bring in sufficient to pay the King his expenses; that, heretofore, two millions were annually coined in the Mint, but, since the East India Company was set up, not less than fifty or sixty thousand pounds per annum were carried into Poland; Sir Edward Coke stated, among other reasons for the scarcity of Money, the Goldsmiths melting the King's Coin into Plate; that there was a law against melting Fourpences and Twopences, but that then there were Shillings, which were converted to be out of that law; Sir Thomas Roe proposed, that a due proportion should be observed between Gold and Silver; and remarked, that the standard of Silver in their country was not like that in other countries, and that he who should bring in Money here would lose eight per cent.

The Committee made their report upon the 18th of March, and attributed the scarcity of Coins to the unequal balancing of trade; and the East India Company. The importation of Spanish tobacco they likewise considered as a cause. This business was settled by the House, without any negative law. This inquiry seems to have ended in the introduction of a Bill to prevent the exportation of Coins. It was brought into the House upon the 9th of May, but it does not appear to have passed into a law, as the uneven balancing of trade. [Vol. V. p. 319.] There is a *Commons Journal*, vol. 1, p. 527. The quantity of Tobacco imported is stated, at page 527, to amount to £120,000.

it is not to be found in any edition of the Statutes.

1621. The Patent for the manufacture of Gold and Silver Thread, having occasioned several abuses, it was, with others, repealed by Proclamation on the 30th of March.

<sup>a</sup> Commons Journals, vol. I. p. 615.

<sup>b</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. The King, in his Speech on the 28th of May, 1620, said that the Patent was most vilely executed, both for wrongs done to many persons, as also, for abuse in the stuff; for it was a kind of false Coin. [Parl. History, vol. V. p. 379.] The Patentees were, Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell. The former of these was a Member of Parliament, a projector, and a great dealer and patentee. [Parl. Hist. V. p. 354.] The latter, according to Wilson, was a poor speaking justice of the peace, that lived amongst the brothels in Clerkenwell, and maintained himself by contributions raised from that neighbourhood. [Parl. Hist. V. p. 426.] These persons having abused the privilege which they enjoyed of the exclusive manufacture of Gold and Silver Thread, the two Houses of Parliament proceeded against them, and the King, by the advice of his Attorney General, repealed the Patent.

For offences committed under the authority of this and other Patents, Mompesson was degraded from the Order of Knighthood; was to stand perpetually in the degree of a person outlawed; his testimony not to be received in any Court; to be exempted out of all general pardons; to be imprisoned, during life; not to come within twelve miles of the King's or Prince's Court, or of the Courts at Westminster; to be fined £10,000; to be disabled to hold any office under the King, or for the Commonwealth; and to be ever held an infamous person.

For this sentence, *it being so just, yet moderate*, the King gave his hearty thanks to the Lords, and added to it perpetual banishment. Mitchell was condemned to be degraded from the Order of Knighthood; to be imprisoned, during the King's pleasure, in the Gaol in Finsbury Field, in the same chamber which he had provided for others, the Tower being too worthy for him; to be fined £1000, and to be disabled to hold any office. [Parl.

On the 17th of May it was resolved in the House of Commons that the Proclamation for Gold weights should be debated in the Committee of Grievances, and then to be reported to the House. I have not, however, found any further proceedings thereon. In the King's speech to the Lords, upon the 10th of June, he reminded them of the two Patents, grievous to the Commonwealth, viz. that of Inns, and that of Gold and Silver Thread, which had been called in by him. This he insisted upon, because some had said that no good had been done in that Parliament.

On the 4th of the same month, the day on which the Parliament was adjourned, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented to the King three Petitions, which were recommended by the Commons. One of these was concerning Bullion and Coin to be preserved in the land; to which his Majesty answered, that he would advise with his Council, and redress it.

The Parliament met again upon the 20th of November, and on the 24th the Lord Keeper, Williams, reported, to both Houses, the King's speech, in which he set forth his Majesty's gracious care over the kingdom, since the last recess or departure of that Assembly: how the three Petitions, presented

[Hist. V. pp. 337—426.] These persons seem to have been the scape-goats who were doomed to bear all the infamy of those Patents, some part of which appears to have belonged to the procurer of them [the Duke of Buckingham], and some part to the grantor.

<sup>c</sup> Commons Journals, vol. I. p. 623.

<sup>d</sup> Parl. History, vol. V. p. 467.

<sup>e</sup> Parl. Hist. vol. V. p. 469.

from the House by the Archbishop of Canterbury,  
 were really answered. That the importation of Bulk  
 Bars, and observation of Coin within the land, were  
 discussed, committed, and referred for still to go  
 on. It does not appear that any thing was  
 done in this matter by the Parliament, which was  
 probably occasioned by its sudden dissolution, on  
 the 8th of February following, before a single Act  
 was passed, except the grant of two Subsidies in the  
 first session; but by a Proclamation dated on the  
 11th of June 1622, the exportation of Coin and  
 Bullion was forbidden, on pain of his Majesty's dis-  
 pleasure, and of the severest benaure of the Star  
 Chamber; and such further pains, punishments, and  
 imprisonments, as by the laws might be inflicted. of  
 All persons who should be aiding and assisting in  
 the exportation were to suffer the same pains, death,  
 and every person who should have had notice of  
 Coin &c. which had been exported within the last  
 three years, was gathered and gotten together by  
 the agents, or otherwise, with intention to ex-  
 port, was forthwith to reveal the same to the Lord  
 Treasurer of England, &c. for which he should  
 receive half of the Tagger, or the value thereof;  
 and every person who should suffer condign  
 punishment within the current year, should be  
 bound to give notice of Gold and Silver, as was  
 ordered, that no Person should assay fine Gold and  
 Silver, nor sell or give away, to any person, except  
 to the Officers of his Majesty's Mints and Changes,  
 or to Goldsmiths within the realm, only for the  
 augmentation of Coin and Plate; and that no Finer

should not be Silver or Gold, whether melted or not,  
and that no Goldsmith should melt nor alloy fine  
Silver, but only for making Jewels, and for mending  
ing of Plate, to make it as good as sterling, and  
that no fine Silver, nor other Silver alloyed, melted  
into alms, should be sold to any person, nor by  
one Goldsmith to another: that the Statute of the  
4th of Henry VII. chapter 2. should be observed; and  
that Gold and Silver Thread should not be made,  
on account of the waste of Coin, &c. nor should any  
be sold after Michaelmas, the 29th of June 1632.  
It has been stated above, under the year 1584  
that, upon the death of Lord Harrington and his  
sons, the Patent for Fathing Tokens was confirmed  
to Lady Anne Harrington and her assigns. How  
long she continued to hold it is uncertain, nor is it  
known at what precise time a new grant of it was  
made to Lodovick Duke of Lennox and James Mar-  
quis of Hamilton, but on the 28th of June, in this  
year, they are found to be in possession of it: and  
Edward Woodward Esq. and Thomas Garret of  
London, Goldsmiths, were appointed by the King's  
Letters Patent, to make the said Tokens.  
Although these Fathing Tokens had been de-  
clared, by the Proclamation under which they were  
first issued, to be current within his Majesty's  
realms of England and Ireland, and his Dominion  
of Wales, yet it now became expedient further to  
establish and privilege the said tokens in Ireland,  
and to prohibit the use of all other Tokens, or  
things in the nature of Tokens, whatsoever.

On 1st Dec. 1632, a Proclamation of Coin and Plate  
in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>h</sup> Snelling's Copper Coinage, Appendix, page 4.

Accordingly, a Proclamation was issued by the Lord Deputy and Council, at Dublin, upon the 28th day of September, 1622, in which was set forth the great advantage which his Majesty's English subjects had received from the use of them, and that his Majesty was pleased to establish the same in his Kingdom of Ireland, and had authorised Edward Woodward, esq. and Thomas Garrett, of London, Goldsmith, their Executors, Administors, Deputies, and Assigns, to make the same, and utter them upon such conditions as they were current in England; and that, in the issuing of them, only twenty Shillings in Tokens should be given for twenty Shillings in sterling Money. And that, for the better distribution of them, his Majesty had provided that the said Woodward and Garrett should deliver them, from time to time, in some place to be made known, in the City of Dublin; in which place, and in all other where the said Tokens should be issued, there should be established a confined exchange for them, so that all persons might, at all convenient times, have sterling Money for their Farthing Tokens, at the rate of twenty Shillings for twenty-one Shillings in Tokens.

The other provisions were similar to those in the English Proclamation, excepting the last clause, which authorized the Patentees at all times, and from time to time, (after publication of the Proclamation,) taking a constable, or other officer, with them, to enter into any ship, bottom, vessel, boat, shop, warehouse, or any other place whatsoever which they should think good, within the Kingdom of Ireland, as well within liberties as without, and there to try and search, by all ways and means,

for all counterfeit Tokens, or engines for counterfeiting the same, as should be brought in from the parts beyond the Seas, or made within his Majesty's Dominions, and, upon finding any such Tokens or instruments, to arrest, seize, carry away, and detain the same, as forfeited unto his Majesty; and all officers of justice were commanded to attend to the execution of the above.

In this year there was a greater scarcity of Money than had been in former times, and therefore the Committee which was appointed, upon the 21st of October, to enquire into the true causes of the decay of trade, was directed also to examine into the principal causes and occasions of that scarcity, and by what means Coin or Bullion might, in future, be more plentifully brought into the kingdom, and preserved from exportation.

1623. The former Proclamations, concerning wire, thread, and other manufactures made of Gold and Silver, being found insufficient, another was issued on the 16th of June, 1623, in which his Majesty declared, that, in order to reduce the Expenses and other traders therein, under order and government, he had granted a charter of incorporation to the Governors, Assistants, and Commonalty of Gold Wire Drawers of the City of London, containing sundry politick and good rules and orders, as well for preserving Coin and Bullion, as for regulating the said trades, and avoiding such deceits as might arise thereby to his Majesty's subjects.

On the 17th of July, an Indenture was made with

Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

Pat. 26 J. I. p. 16. m. 10. Rymer, XVII. 410.

Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.



Randal Cranfield, Master-Worker in the Tower, for making Rose-Rings at thirty Shillings, Spur-Rings at fifteen Shillings, and Angels at ten Shillings, of the old standard. The pound by tale forty-four Pounds ten Shillings. Of Crown Gold, Units at twenty Shillings, forty-one to the Pound; Double Crowns at ten Shillings, and British Crowns at five Shillings. which standard, of twenty-two carats fine and two alloy, the King ordained and established to be the right standard of the said three Monies.

Of Silver Monies, he was to coin pieces of Five Shillings, Half Five-Shillings, Shillings (sixty-two to the pound), Half-Shillings, Twopences, Pence, and Halfpence.

1623-24. In the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 19th of February, an Act was passed against usury, by which legal interest was limited to eight per cent.

1624. During this Session the Commons petitioned the King for the redress of divers grievances, occasioned by monopolies, &c. Amongst other things, they stated, that the trade of Gold wire-drawing had been exercised, within the City of London, by various persons being members of the Corporation of Goldsmiths, whereby they not only maintained themselves and their families, but also set many other persons to work, until one Matthias Rowe and others, (men never bound apprentices to the said trade according to law,) obtained Letters

Divers complaints being made against Cranfield, he was sequestered upon the 13th of January 1625. *Reti. Hist. p. 4.*

n. 2. d. 2. *Rymer, XVIII. 26.* *Proclamation in the Archives of the Tower, 1625.*

m Leake, p. 279.

n Statute 21 Jac. I. cap. xvii.



Patent, bearing date on the 16th of June, in the 21st year of his Majesty's reign, whereby they were incorporated, by the name of Gold-Wire-Drawers of the City of London upon suggestion that they would import so much foreign Gold and Silver Coin and Bullion, to be converted into current Coin of the realm, as should countervail the Bullion they should use in making Gold Wire, &c. and the Commons petitioned that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to publish and declare that the said Letters Patent should never hereafter be put in execution.

This Retition occasioned a Proclamation to be published upon the 10th of July following, in which his Majesty declared, that he found not only that Corporation, (which he thereupon revoked and pronounced to be void,) but also the manufacture of Gold and Silver Thread, &c. &c. to be unfit to be continued within the realm, and that he was resolved to abolish the said manufacture, and to put in execution the laws against the consumption of Coin and Bullion.

The Proclamation concluded with a repetition of those provisions, respecting Finers and Goldsmiths, which are to be found in the Ordinance of the 11th of June, 1622.

1625. The King died at Theobalds, on the 27th of March, in this year.

In the course of his reign, a good deal of Money was coined of Silver, refined from the Lead of the Mines of the Principality of Wales. This Money

Parl. History, vol. XXII. Appendix, p. 104.

Proclamation in the Archives of the Privy Council.

Statute 21 Jac. I. cap. xvii.

Leske, p. 239.

was marked with the Welsh feathers, placed over the royal arms; upon the respective Reverses<sup>a</sup>.

The stile of James was varied from that of all his predecessors, on account of the union of the two Kingdoms under one imperial Crown. On the Coins which were first struck after his accession to the English Throne, it ran thus, JACOBUS DEI GRATIA ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HYBERNIÆ REX. This, in his second year, was changed to JACOBUS DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HYBERNIÆ REX.

His earliest English Coins had this sentence from the beginning of the 68th Psalm on the Reverse, EXURGAT DEUS DISSIPENTUR INIMICI. But after his second year all the inscriptions upon the various Reverses alluded to the union of England and Scotland, which he earnestly desired, but was unable to accomplish. They were either QUÆ DEUS CONJUNXIT NEMO SEPARET, or TUENTUR UNITA DEUS; or FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM; or HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA JACOBUS; in allusion to the union of the two roses by Henry the Seventh, and the projected union of the two Countries.

His Scottish Coins were all struck after his second year, and the larger pieces, both of Gold and Silver, bore the same stile as his English ones after that period, whilst the smallest had J. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA. The Reverses were inscribed with all the various legends which appeared upon his English Coins. On his Copper Coins, as well for England as for Scotland, the legend was continued from the Obverse to the Reverse, and ran thus, JACOBUS DEI

GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, on one side, and FRAN-  
CIA ET HIBERNIÆ REX, on the other.

Of his Irish Money, some was struck before his  
second year, and consequently, had the same stile as  
his first English Coins: with EXURGAT DEUS. PA-  
SRENTUR INIMICI on the Reverse of some: and on  
others, TUEATUR UNICA DEUS. This last legend  
was continued (after his title was altered in confor-  
mity with that upon his English and Scottish Money)  
upon the Sixpences which were coined in 1605,  
whilst the Shillings bore HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA  
JACOBUS. They were all struck in the Tower of  
London, and sent over into Ireland.

His stile upon his Great Seal is, both on the Ob-  
verse and the Reverse, JACOBUS DEI GRATIA ANGLIÆ  
SCOTIÆ FRANCHIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX, FIDELI DEFEN-  
sor. In which we find no mention of Magnæ Bri-  
tanniæ, that being a fit title for his Coin which was  
current throughout his Dominions: but this stile  
only applicable to the Great Seal under which he  
passed all grants in his Kingdoms of England and  
Ireland, but not of Scotland, he having a Great Seal  
for that Kingdom also, in which Scotland is placed  
before England, and also the arms of Scotland in  
the first quarter of the royal shield.

No other Mints, than those of the Tower and  
Edinburgh were worked in this reign.

The Reverse, which appeared upon his English Coins  
as legends which appeared upon his English Coins  
On his Copper Coins, as well for England as for  
Scotland, the legend was continued from the Ob-  
verse to the Reverse, and ran thus. JACOBUS DEI

## CHARLES I.

was proclaimed on Monday the 28th of March, 1625.

On the 1st of April following, a special commission was directed to Sir Edward Villiers and Sir William Parkhurst, Knights, Wardens of the Mint, Richard Rogers and William Wood, Gentlemen, Comptrollers, and Andrewe Palmer and George Turner, Gentlemen, Assay Masters, to authorize them to continue the Mint in work, which had been stopped upon the death of the late King, and to use the Dies of the late King, until others should be provided. The Money to be made according to the Indenture with Sir Randill Cranfield, dated July 17, the 21st of James, which had determined upon the death of the late King.

In another special Commission, for regulating the making of cloth, directed to Henry Viscount Maundevile, Lord President of the Council, and others, on the 25th of May, the Commissioners were directed to inquire into the causes of the great scarcity of Money, and the means by which Coin and Bullion might be brought into the Kingdom more plentifully, and the same be preserved from exportation. And they were particularly directed to inquire, what native commodities of the Kingdom were of that necessary usefulness to neighbouring Nations as that they might fitly return home a proportion of Coin and Bullion for a supply of treasure. And because the Company of Mer-

\* Pat. 1 Charles I. p. 4. n. 2. dom. Rymer, XVII. 6.

chants trading from the East Indies had been much taxed by many for exporting the Coin and treasure of the Realm, to furnish their trade withall, the Commissioners were directed to inquire whether they did justly and truly perform their contract with the King, concerning the carrying out of Money; and to consider by what means that trade, which was reported in show, might really and truly be made profitable to the publick, without exhausting the treasure of the Kingdom.

On the 30th of May, a Proclamation was issued to prohibit the use of any Farthing Tokens, except such as had heretofore been made by authority of Letters Patent of the late King, or which should be made by virtue of others to be granted by his Majesty, under the Great Seal, to his trusty and well-beloved cousin, Frances Duchess Dowager of Richmond and Lenox, and Sir Francis Crane Knight, during the term contained in the said Letters Patent.

The making, uttering, importing, or counterfeit- ing of them, was likewise forbidden.

Another Proclamation, to the same purport, was issued upon the fourth of June.

Pat. 1 Charles I. p. 3. n. 1. dors. Rymer, XVIII, p. 81. The manner in which the East India Company is here spoken of, differs very materially from the Proclamation of the 19th of February, 1618-19, where it is called a Company, which so well deserved to be upheld and encouraged. On To what is this difference to be ascribed? As no change of Ministers had taken place, it proceeded, probably, from the sagacity of the King himself.

The Manner of the Company's Monopoly was under his direction. [Wolpole's Abridgement of Printing, vol. I. p. 101.]

x Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

y Pat. 1 Charles I. p. 4. n. 20. dors. Rymer, XVIII, p. 101.

The Letters Patent which granted to the Dukes of Richmond and Sir Francis Crane the exclusive right of making Farthing Tokens, for the term of seventeen years, bore date upon the 11th of July.

These Tokens were to be made of Copper, with the same type as those of the late King, and with this inscription, CAROLUS DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX; and to weigh six grains a-piece, or more, at the discretion of the Patentees.

The making or counterfeiting them, or any engines or instruments resembling them, or any other tokens whatsoever, or the using or uttering any other Tokens whatsoever, either made or counterfeited within the Realm, or beyond the Seas, at any time after the commencement of the Letters Patent, was forbidden upon pain of forfeiture of all such Tokens, &c. &c. and of such further pains, penalties, and imprisonments, as by the laws and statutes of England and Ireland respectively, or by the prerogative royal, could or might be inflicted. One half of the forfeiture to go to the King, and the other to the Patentees; who had power given to them to search and seize, as in the Proclamation by which the Tokens were established in Ireland on the 28th of September, 1622.

For this exclusive privilege of making Farthing Tokens, the Patentees were to pay to the King an yearly rent of one hundred marks of lawful Money of England, and the Patent was to cease if the half-yearly payment thereof was not made within twenty-eight days of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and the birth of our Lord God.

In order that the Tokens might be better distri-

bated and dispersed, the Patentees covenanted to deliver one and twenty Shillings in Farthing Tokens for every twenty Shillings in sterling Money, and to return to those who should find themselves surcharged with the Farthing Tokens, either of the late King, or of those to be by them made, the sum of twenty Shillings in sterling and current Monies for every twenty-one Shillings in Farthing Tokens; and they were commanded to send, from time to time, sufficient quantities of them to as many cities, &c. as they should conceive to be fit to bring the said Tokens into more general use; and all Mayors, &c. &c. were charged to aid and assist the Patentees in due execution of the Letters Patent, on pain of his Majesty's high displeasure, &c.

And the currency of the Farthing Tokens made by virtue of the Letters Patent of the late King was ordered to continue, (notwithstanding the surrender and determination of the said Letters,) under such privileges, &c. as in the Patent to the Duchess of Buckingham and Sir Francis Crane, were limited and appointed for the Farthing Tokens hereafter (to be made by them<sup>a</sup>).

It seems probable that but little Money was coined under the Commission of the 1st of April; for, on the 4th of September, a Proclamation was issued, which stated, that his Majesty had lately received, for the portion of his dear consort, the Queen, some good sums of Money of the Coin of France, which he had ordered to be new coined in

<sup>a</sup> Letters Patent. Rymer, vol. XVIII. p. 143; It will be seen hereafter that the smallness of these Tokens, occasioned them to be counterfeited, and encouraged other great abuses,

<sup>b</sup> Letter from Sir Martin Stuteville to Mr. Mead, dated Lond. Apr. 13. 1625.

<sup>c</sup> "An Order for our new Coins with their mottoes was sent to the Tower in the beginning of the Week; but no such Coin to be stamped or come abroad, till the funeral be past."



*Gold* { *fine* {  $\frac{30}{100}$  } *Amor Civium Regis Possidiam*  
*iron* {  $\frac{10}{100}$  } *Florat Concordia Regna.*  
*Silver* {  $\frac{1}{2}$  } *Christo auspice regno.*  
*2<sup>d</sup>* { *Justitia* } *Thronum firmat.*

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# ANNALS OF THE COINAGE.

his Mint within the Tower of London: but that, by reason of the plague, which had taken hold of many of the workmen in the Mint, this could not be performed so speedily as his Majesty's necessities required, and therefore he had found it expedient to use the said Coin in specie, as he had received it. To that end it was ordered, that the French Coin called Cardecue should from that time be current, within his Majesty's Dominions, at the value of nineteen Pence Halfpenny, such being its current value in France. And to prevent the inconvenience which might arise from the importation of light Coins, all persons were forbidden to import any Cardecues, upon pain of confiscation; one half to the King, and the other to him who should seize it<sup>a</sup>.

This was, however, insufficient to prevent the importation of those Coins in such quantities as to render it necessary to stop their currency entirely; which was accordingly done by Proclamation on the 24th of July in the following year<sup>b</sup>.

1626. On the 14th of the next month, the two Wardens of the Mint, Sir Edward Villiers and Sir William Parkhurst, the Comptroller, Richard Rogers, esq. and the Assay Master, Andrew Palmer, esq. (who, together with Wm. Wood, deceased, and George Turner, had been appointed to coin by a Commission dated April 1, 1625,) received a new Commission, which stated, that the King was resolved to continue his Monies, to be coined at his Mint, of the same standard that they then were;

<sup>a</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; and Pat. 1 Charles I. p. 9. n. 2. dors. Rymer, vol. XVIII. p. 184.

<sup>b</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.



namely, the Silver at eleven ounces two penny-weights fine; the Crown Gold at 22 carats fine, and the Angel Gold 23 carats  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine. The pound weight in Silver to make in current Money *three Pounds ten Shillings and six Pence*, and to be cut into such pieces or species as were then usually coined in the Mint. The Money thus coined to be delivered to his Majesty's subjects by weight, as it was then done.

The Warden was to take up, for the King's use, of every pound weight of Silver Money five Shillings and six Pence by tale, out of which the Moniers were to have a Penny upon every pound weight, and fourteen Pence for working, as then was used; and of every pound of Crown Gold (which should make in current Money forty-four Pounds by tale; of such pieces or species as were then coined of Gold of that fineness at the Mint) two Pounds twelve Shillings; out of which five Shillings were to be allowed for workmanship. And the Commissioners, any three of whom had authority to act, were to be allowed after the rate of seventeen Pence upon every pound weight of Angel or Crown Gold, out of the six Shillings for coining Angel Gold, and the six Shillings and five Pence for Crown Gold, formerly allowed; and for every pound weight of Silver fourteen Pence<sup>c</sup>.

I have not been able to ascertain positively (from any record) whether this Commission were ever acted upon, but it should seem that it was, from the tenor of a Proclamation<sup>d</sup>, bearing date the 4th of

<sup>c</sup> Pat. 2 Charles I. p. 13. n. 18. dors. Rymer, XVIII. p. 740.

<sup>d</sup> This Proclamation was, as I presume, issued in consequence of the arguments urged by Sir Robert Cotton, at the Council

September following, which ordered, for divers important considerations, that all Coins of Gold and Silver within the realm of England, should be current, and taken and received in all receipts and payments, in such species, and at such weights, fineness, and value, as the same were current at on the first day of August last past, and not otherwise. And that all Monies of Gold and Silver coined, since the said 1st day of August, in any other manner than according to the Proclamations which were in force upon that day, should be esteemed but as Bullion, and not be current<sup>e</sup>.

It is difficult to affix any meaning to this Proclamation, without supposing that some Coinage of an improper kind had taken place, subsequent to the 1st of August. And that something wrong had occurred in consequence of the Commission of the 14th of that month, seems probable from the tenor of another Commission, which was issued on the 7th of September, to the persons above-mentioned. In that instrument the extraordinary provisions respecting the weight of the Silver Coins, and the Seignorage, which had been introduced into the Commission of the 14th of August, were passed over unnoticed, and those only of the 1st of April, 1625, were recited,

Table, on the 2d of September in this year. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that the speech which he made upon this occasion should be published, in 1641, as "the speech of Sir Thomas Roe at the Council Table touching Brass Money." And this is the more extraordinary, because the arguments by no means apply to so extreme a case as the proposed adulteration of the Coins in 1640, but attempts to show only the inexpediency of a small increase of alloy. [See Cottoni Posthuma, page 285.]

<sup>e</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

By it the Commissioners were authorised to coin according to the form and effect of a certain Indenture hereafter to be made between the King and them: But to the end that the Mint might receive no stay nor hindrance from the said Indenture not being perfected, the Commissioners were empowered to continue to coin in the same manner as they had done before the 1st of August immediately preceding the date of the Commission, until the said Indenture should be perfected; and, for their trouble, they were to receive reward and profit according to the terms of the last Commission, dated August the 14th<sup>f</sup>.

The Indenture referred to above bore date upon the 8th of November following, and its conditions with respect to the weight of the Silver Coins, and the Seignorage, were totally different from those which have been stated in the Commission of the 14th of August.

It was made between the King and Sir Robert Harley, Knight of the Bath, who was then Master and Worker of the Monies of Gold and Silver, within his Majesty's Tower of London and realm of England.

By it a pound of Gold of the old standard was coined into forty-four Pounds ten Shillings by tale, viz. into Rose-Nobles at thirty Shillings a-piece, Spur-Rials at fifteen Shillings, or Angels at ten Shillings each. A pound weight of Crown Gold, of twenty-two carats fine, into forty-one Pounds by tale, viz. into Units at twenty Shillings, Double

<sup>f</sup> Pat. 2 Charles I. p. 13. n. 15. dors. Rymer, XVIII. p. 752. The last clause contains the only notice which is taken of that Commission of the 14th of August.

**Crowns at ten Shillings, or British Crowns at five Shillings, a-piece.**

A pound of Silver, of the old standard, into sixty-two Shillings by tale, namely, into Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Half-Shillings, Twopences, Pence, and Halfpence<sup>s</sup>.

Thus far from Lowndes, but Leake has added the following circumstances :

The Master was to make of every hundred weight of Silver four pounds weight of small Monies, viz. two pounds weight of Twopences, one pound and an half of Pence, and half a pound of Halfpence. The King was to take for Coinage, out of every pound of Gold, fifteen Shillings ; of which the Master was to have six Shillings for fine Gold, and six Shillings and five Pence for Crown Gold, for all expenses about the same, paying to the Moniers two Shillings : so there remained to the King, upon every pound coined, nine Shillings sterling upon fine, and eight Shillings seven Pence upon Crown Gold ; and to the merchant forty-three Pounds fifteen Shillings. And out of every pound of Silver the King was to have two Shillings ; out of which to the Master, fourteen Pence, whereof the Moniers were to have eight Pence ; so remained to the King ten Pence, and to the bringers three Pounds. And the Master was allowed, for remedy of fine Gold, the eighth part of a Carat ; for Crown Gold, one sixth part of a Carat ; and for Silver, two pennyweights of Silver. And, over and above the ordinary price, the Moniers were to be allowed one Penny of every Pound of Silver in tale, for the

better sizing thereof, so long as the Monies were well forged and coined; and out of the King's profits were to be paid the salaries, diet, and fees, to the respective officers, reparations of houses, and other incidents<sup>h</sup>.

1627. That practice, so ruinous to the Coinage, of culling out the more weighty Monies<sup>i</sup>, for the purpose of reducing them to Bullion, was, it seems, about this time, carried to an alarming extent; so as not only to produce a scarcity of Money, but also to render that which remained too feeble, and to raise the price of Silver above that allowed by the Mint. In consequence, none could be brought thither but at a loss.

This pernicious practice had been greatly encouraged, by the Government having connived, for a length of time, at the liberty which certain Goldsmiths had usurped of acting as Exchangers, and of buying and selling all manner of Bullion of Gold and Silver, contrary to the meaning of divers Acts of Parliament, &c. To check these abuses, the King declared, by Proclamation on the 25th of May, in his third year, that he had constituted and appointed Henry Earl of Holland to the office of his Changes, Exchanges, and Outchanges, wheresoever, within the realms of England and Ireland and the Dominion of Wales, to exercise the same by himself, or by such sufficient deputies as he would answer for.

And all persons, except the said Earl, &c. were forbidden to exchange or buy any Bullion or Coin

<sup>h</sup> Leake, page 298.

<sup>i</sup> For which they gave two Shillings, and sometimes three Shillings, the hundred Pounds. [Leake, page 300.]

within three miles of the City of London, after the four and twentieth day of June, or in any other part of his Majesty's Dominions, after the 29th day of September next ensuing.

And it was commanded, that no person, other than as aforesaid, should give, or receive, for the exchanging of any of the Coins then current, or which should hereafter be made the current Coins of the realm, more than the said Coins should be current for. And all persons were commanded to observe and keep the following Articles and Ordinances, as they would answer the same at their uttermost peril :

1. The first Article enforced the Proclamation of the 11th of June, in the 20th year of the late King, against the exportation of Coin.

2. The second enforced the Statute of York, 9 Edward III. cap. 6, 9, and 10.

3. The third commanded that no Goldsmith, Finer, &c. should melt, &c. any Coins, or cull for the purpose of melting, exporting or altering the Coins.

4. The fourth, that no person should take for exchange, &c. more than the prices allowed at the Mint or Exchange.

5. The fifth, to enforce the Statute of the 18th of Elizabeth<sup>k</sup>, for the reformation of abuses in Goldsmiths, ordered, that every Goldsmith, upon sale, should value apart the Gold and Silver, and the fashion and workmanship, and should give the buyer a ticket, subscribed with his name or mark, containing the day of sale, weight of the plate, and the value of the Gold and Silver apart, and the value of the fashion apart, by which might appear

<sup>k</sup> Chapter xv.

at what rate the one and the other were valued or rated, whereby no fraud or deceit could be made to the said Statute; and that the buyer, selling the same again, might know what to demand for the same at the King's Exchange or Mint.

6. The sixth, in order to bring to the Mint all Gold Money current in the realm being clipped, washed, or by any other means unlawfully diminished, or lacking of the just weight thereof, commanded that it should not be received otherwise than according to the rates expressed, and with the allowance of the remedies set down in divers Proclamations of Queen Elizabeth and the late King<sup>1</sup>. And that all pieces which should want more than the remedies therein allowed, should be decried down and uncurrent; and if any should be offered in payment, it should be lawful for the person to whom it was offered to brand it, by striking a hole through it, and presently afterward to return it to the owner; which pieces, so branded, it was his Majesty's pleasure should be brought to his Exchange or Mint, there again to be molten and converted into Coin.

7. The seventh Article stated, that it was impossible but that the rates and prices of Gold and Silver in the Mint and Exchanges would be exceeded, and the same not to be prevented, so long as way should or might be given for the bringing in, selling, or venting, of any false, deceitful, or counterfeit Gold or Silver, Plate, &c. &c. or other manufactures, being not made, wrought, or sold, according to the

<sup>1</sup> The Remedies allowed in the Proclamation of the 31st of July, 1619.

standard of the Mint, or the Goldsmiths' Hall, contrary to divers laws, &c. It therefore ordained, that no such should be made or sold less in fineness than the Money of England.

It, however, further declared, that nothing was thereby intended to prevent Merchants importing Bullion, or any of the King's subjects having any Gold or Silver found within the realm, from bringing the same to the Exchange or Mint, there to be molten into Coin, at their choice; but that no Goldsmith, under pretence of being factor to such Merchant, should buy, &c. or bring to the Mint, such Bullion, but after the time limited should carry it to the Exchange, there to be sold and exchanged.

It also ordered, that all Goldsmiths should exercise their trade as heretofore, but not buy at a rate above the Mint, nor purchase, &c. any foreign species of Money, or other Bullion, imported or found within his Majesty's dominions, all which it was his pleasure should be brought to the Mint or Exchange to be converted into Coin.

The penalties for offending against these Articles were, forfeiture according to the Statutes, and censures in the Star Chamber.

Persons who offended, and afterwards discovered other offenders, were to be freed from their own forfeitures, &c. and to receive part of the forfeiture on such discovery, as if they had never offended. Part of the forfeiture due to the King might likewise be given to the informer, at the discretion of the Commissioners <sup>m</sup>.

By a Patent and Indenture of the twenty-second

<sup>m</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.



of August<sup>n</sup>, it appears that the Earl of Holland was made Keeper of the Exchanges between Ireland and England, for the term of thirty-one years, and that he was thereby bound to exchange any sums of Money brought to his office, to be remitted to and from England and Ireland, at a reasonable premium, not exceeding six Pence in every twenty Shillings<sup>o</sup>.

1628. This year was memorable for the great improvement which took place in the workmanship of the Coins. The merit of this must be ascribed to a foreign Artist, Nicholas Briot, a native of Lorrain, and some time Graver-general of the Monies in France, who quitted that kingdom in disgust, and offered his services to the King. His Majesty, whose taste in the fine arts is admitted even by those who do not think highly of him as a monarch<sup>p</sup>, immediately gave him great encouragement. He was made a denizen, and, by Letters Patent dated upon the 26th of December, was authorized to frame and engrave the first designs and effigies of the King's image, in such sizes and forms as should serve in all sorts of Coins of Gold and Silver<sup>q</sup>.

He proposed to work the Monies of Gold and Silver with instruments and presses remaining in

<sup>n</sup> This date must be incorrect, as the preceding Proclamation, which was dated upon the 25th of May, announced the appointment of the Earl of Holland.

<sup>o</sup> Simon, page 46.

<sup>p</sup> The Author of that severe Tract which is entitled, "The none-such Charles his Character," admits "his general inclination to all Arts and Sciences, and his excelling so far in them, as that he might have got a livelihood by them," page 189.

<sup>q</sup> Rymer, XIX. p. 40.

his hands, whereby he could make and press the Money into a more perfect roundness, weight, figure, and impression, and with less charge, than by the ordinary way of hammering then used<sup>r</sup>; whereupon his Majesty was pleased, by Warrant dated on the 11th of February, 1629, to refer the same for trial, at Briot's own charges, the Officers of the Mint furnishing him with convenient lodgings in the Mint, and delivering to him Gold and Silver, to be converted into several sorts of Gold and Silver Money, as appointed by the Indenture of the Mint then subsisting<sup>s</sup>.

On the 13th of June, 1631, his Majesty appointed Commissioners to examine and view his trial and proofs, intending the Monies so made by him should have current course, as the other Money made by the ordinary way of the hammer. And whereas as first he was to have only a month's time to teach and exercise his men in the working of Monies, the time was prolonged, to make trial of his experience, until the King should signify his pleasure to the contrary<sup>t</sup>. Afterwards he had granted to him, upon the 27th of January, 1633, the office of one of the Chief Engravers of the Irons for the Mint in the Tower of London during pleasure<sup>u</sup>. He likewise graved the Stamps for the Scottish Money<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Leake, page 310, says that Briot pretended to be the first inventor of the Mill. But qu. ? as Le Blanc speaks of the new invention as being nothing more than the stamping the edge at the same time that the Obverse and Reverse were struck. [Traité Hist. des Monnoyes de France, p. 303.]

<sup>s</sup> Leake, page 311.

<sup>t</sup> Pat. 7 Charles I. p. 20. m. 45<sup>th</sup> dors. Rymer, XIX. p. 297.

<sup>u</sup> Rymer, XIX. p. 526. See Leake, p. 310.

<sup>w</sup> Folkes, p. 148. He attended the King in his progress

Mr. Leake thinks that he was not fully employed in the English Mint until his return from Scotland, the first Stamp for Silver Money bearing date in 1635<sup>x</sup>; and Mr. Folkes inclines to believe that he struck Coins in 1629, and 1631 or 32, and that some of following years were taken from his designs<sup>y</sup>. But it is certain that he coined English Money at an earlier period than even that which is assigned by Mr. Folkes, for an Half Crown is known with his name and the date of the year 1628<sup>z</sup>. Snelling dates his first appointment on the 16th of December 1628<sup>a</sup>.

1629.. It is said that a Mint was erected at York, when the great Earl of Strafford was President of the North, which office he entered upon about the beginning of this year; if so, the pieces which were minted there in this reign are posterior to that time, and were not improbably coined, some of them at least, when the King was at York, in his magnificent and memorable progress into Scotland, in the year 1633<sup>b</sup>.

into Scotland in 1633, where he engraved a curious medal for the King's Coronation at Edinburgh, on the 18th of June, in that year. Some specimens of it have an inscription on the edge, denoting that it was coined of Gold found in Scotland, and engraved by Briot at Edinburgh. See an engraving of it in the Medallie History of England, Plate XV. No. 19.

<sup>x</sup> Leake, page 312.

<sup>y</sup> Folkes, page 80.

<sup>z</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XXII. No. 2.

Le Blanc's account of the opposition which was made to Briot's attempt to introduce again the use of the Mill into the French Mints, contains a curious instance of the lengths to which party or personal prejudice has sometimes been carried, even to the rejection of useful inventions. [Traité Hist. des Monnoyes de France, page 302.]

<sup>a</sup> View of the Silver Coin, page 37.

<sup>b</sup> Folkes, page 79.

1630. About this year, the Lord Cottington made a most advantageous contract with the King of Spain, for the bringing in Silver from Spain in English bottoms, and for landing the Silver at Dover, one third part thereof to be coined at the Mint, and the other two parts, by license from the King and his Privy Council, to be transported at the will of the importer. This contract was made by virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal, and above ten millions of Silver were coined upon it from 1630 to 1643. From the Minutes of Proceedings in the Star Chamber, in Hilary Term the 6th of the King, it appears, that the counterfeiters of Farthing Tokens sold them at 24, 25, or 26 Shillings in Futhings, for 20 Shillings in current Money.

The errors and abuses which existed in the Money-weights, called, at this time, loudly for redress. Many of them, which were in common use (although they were marked with the King's ensign) were too heavy, and others too light, so that men bought and received by one weight, and sold and delivered by another.

1632. In order to remedy this, notice was given, by Proclamation on the 20th of December, in this year, that his Majesty had taken into his own hands the making, assizing, and issuing the said counterpoises or weights, with grains and half-grains; and that the weights wherewith the Money of Gold should be poized, after the 10th of January following, should be made of a circular form, with certain

as Violet's Appeal to Caesar, page 24.

d Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part II. vol. II. App. p. 35.

marks thereon, by which they might be easily known from the weights which were formerly used<sup>e</sup>; and that they should be of the full and just size, according to the true weights of the Gold Monies, and the grains and half-grains to be apart by themselves, to shew the remedies and abatements as they ought to be; and that none of them should be made with the remedies and abatements purposely taken off (commonly called blanck weights.) And further, that his Majesty had committed the care of making and assizing those counterpoizes and weights to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, baronet<sup>f</sup>, one of the Masters of Requests, who was to have in readiness, in the Tower of London, sufficient numbers of the said counterpoizes, &c. exactly and diligently made and sized, to furnish his Majesty's subjects, by the 26th of January next following, to be issued at a reasonable price.

<sup>e</sup> The weight for the Five Shillings Piece (which is the only one that I have seen) has on one side the King's bust, in armour, crowned, with flowing hair, a love-lock, and a falling laced band. About it CAROL REX. Beneath the bust a small-capital B, with a point on each side of it.

On the other side  $\frac{V}{S}$  under a crown. The v between two small lozenges. On one side of the s a point, and on the other the s and two points, as before. It is of good workmanship; probably by Briot, whose mark it appears to bear. It is in the British Museum.

<sup>f</sup> Aylesbury's Patent was dated upon the 20th of October, 8th Charles I. and was for England, Ireland, and Wales, for life, at the yearly rent of twenty shillings. Authority was given to him to enter any place, with the assistance of a constable, to search for false weights and balances, and to seize the same as forfeited to the King. [Pat. 8 Charles I. pt. 1. m. 8. Rymer, XIX. p. 390.]

And it was ordered that all chief officers in cities, &c. &c. should, with all convenient speed, provide one pair to be kept within such city, &c. &c. that such as would, might have access to the same, for discerning the true weights of the Money of Gold.

Also that no person should use any other after the aforesaid 26th of January.

That no one should make or counterfeit them, on pain of punishment.

That none should be compelled to use any other weights <sup>g</sup>.

And that all judges, &c. should attend to the execution of the premises, and, upon complaint, proceed in the High Court of Star Chamber, or elsewhere <sup>h</sup>.

There was at that time, according to Rushworth, such plenty of Gold in the Kingdom, and such scarcity of Silver, that the drovers and farmers, who brought their cattle to be sold in Smithfield, would ordinarily make their bargain to be paid in Silver, and not in Gold; and people did commonly give two Pence, and sometimes more, to get twenty Shillings in Silver for the exchange of a twenty-shilling piece in Gold of full weight.

In and about London and Westminster, as well as in other parts, most people carried Gold scales in their pockets, to weigh Gold on all occasions, and had them from the office for that purpose erected <sup>i</sup>.

Of this abundance of Gold the East India Company sought to make advantage.

<sup>g</sup> Was not this clause unnecessary, as the use of any other weights had been already absolutely forbidden?

<sup>h</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>i</sup> Rushworth's Historical Collections, part II. vol. I. p. 149.

A License had been granted to them, by the late King, to export yearly foreign Silver, to the amount of not more than one hundred thousand pounds. They, however, discovered that Gold was more in request than Silver, in the parts to which they traded; and therefore petitioned the King, that they might be permitted to transport yearly such foreign Gold as their occasions required; which privilege was granted to them under certain conditions; *viz.* that they might export foreign Gold to the amount of £40,000, as part of the £100,000 according to their License, without any custom, &c. And, in case they should not be able to purchase so much foreign Gold, they had permission to make up that sum with English Gold, any Statute, &c. notwithstanding. But in consideration of this favour, they were to forbear to export so much Silver out of the sum of £100,000, as the said Gold exported by them should amount to. All the Gold and Silver exported was to be entered at the Custom-house<sup>k</sup>.

In the Parliament which was holden at Edinburgh on the 28th day of June, 1633, the interest of Money was reduced from ten *per cent.* to eight; the alteration to take place at the end of three years from the date of the Act<sup>l</sup>.

1633. By a Proclamation, which was issued about Michaelmas in this year, the counterfeiters of Farthing Tokens, and the makers of instruments for

<sup>k</sup> Pat. 8 Charles I. p. 11. m. 10. Rymer, XLX. p. 386.

<sup>l</sup> Scottish Acts, first Parliament of Charles I. chap. 21.  
 "Anent the Anwel of eight to be taken of ilk hundred in time to come alennerly, suspending the same for three years, and in the interim, two of ten to be payed for the said space to his Majestie."

that purpose, were, upon conviction, to be fined 20*l.* or a piece, to be set on the pillory in Chancery side, and from thence whipped through the streets to Old Bridewell, and there to be received and kept to work; and, if ever they were enlarged from thence, then to find sureties for their good behaviour<sup>m</sup>.

1634. Notwithstanding what has been related above, from Rushworth, as to the common usage of the Gold weights, it should seem either that the practice was not so general as he has represented it to be, or that the weights were again counterfeited as they had been before; for on the 5th of May, in this year, it was found necessary to enforce by a new Proclamation, the execution of the provisions contained in that which was issued upon the 20th of December, 1632<sup>n</sup>. Complaints having been made, from several parts of the Kingdom, concerning the stop and refusal of Farthing Tokens, the Court of Star Chamber took the same into consideration upon the 20th of June; when it was found that they proceeded as well from the abuse in counterfeiting the same, as in causing them to pass, in payments, and for commodities, and for wages to workmen and labourers, in greater quantities than were intended. The Court, therefore, thought fit to publish part of a Decree which had been made, in that Court, upon the 25th of the preceding month of April, in a cause wherein Sir Francis Crane, knight, was plaintiff, against William Hawkes and others, for making and venting counterfeit Farthing Tokens.

<sup>m</sup> Rushworth's Historical Collections, part II. vol. I. p. 202.

<sup>n</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.



This part of the Decree concerned the regulation of these Tokens in future, and ordered that no one should pay above two Pence in Farthings to any other person at any one time, and declared it to be unlawful to force such Farthing Tokens upon any poor labourer or workman, or other persons, in any payments either of great or small sums.

This regulation was become absolutely necessary, as many poor labourers had been compelled to take their whole week's wages in Farthings, by those who bought great quantities, at low rates, to make advantage thereby. The Court also declared it to be unlawful for any person to buy, or barter for, any Farthings, at, or for any lesser rate than they were usually vented by his Majesty's Patentees, and that the Court was resolved to punish the offenders severely. And it withall held fit, and desired, that his Majesty should be moved to declare and command the same by his Proclamation, to be published throughout the Kingdom. That so the true use of the Farthing Tokens, which were intended for the good of the poor, might be continued, and the abuses either prevented or punished.

On the 16th of September following, a Proclamation was published, at Dublin, by the Lord Deputy Wentworth and the Council, containing the provisions which had been made in that Court, and which were as follows:—  
With these facts before them, it is rather extraordinary that the Court of Star Chamber should never have suspected that it was impolitic to give currency to Coins which were liable to such abuses.

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, See also Rushworth's Historical Collections, part II. vol. I. p. 251.

Rushworth's Historical Collections, part II. vol. I. p. 251. Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

sions of this Decree<sup>a</sup>, and giving notice, that who-  
soever should bring any sum of lawful Farthings  
unto Edward Lake, Agent for the Patentees, resi-  
dent in Dublin, he would pay to him the like sum  
in Silver. And it further declared, that if any per-  
son should counterfeit any of the said Farthing  
Tokens, or should bring, or cause to be brought,  
into the Kingdom, any such counterfeit Tokens, or  
should utter them, knowing them to be counterfeit,  
then such person, so offending, should receive such  
censure, by loss of ears, or other corporal punish-  
ment, as by the Court of Castle Chamber there  
should be thought meet.

And that it should be lawful for all Mayors, &c.  
and they were thereby commanded, to apprehend all  
persons whom they should probably suspect to be  
such counterfeiters, and also to seize upon all such  
counterfeit Farthings, and engines or instruments  
for making and forging the same, and to break in  
pieces and utterly deface them. And lastly, all his  
Majesty's loving subjects were thereby required to  
apprehend, and bring before some of his Majesty's  
justices of the peace, all such persons as they should  
know, or probably suspect of having counterfeited,  
&c. and the said justices were commanded to commit  
to the next shire gaol such offenders, so taken, there  
to remain until they should put in security to answer  
the said offences in the Castle Chamber, which  
bonds, together with the examinations taken con-  
cerning the offenders, the justices were required,  
from time to time, monthly, to return to his Majesty's

<sup>a</sup> The former part of the Proclamation is in the precise words  
of the Decree.

Attorney General, together with the names of such of the offenders as, for want of security, remained in prison<sup>r</sup>.

On the 3d of December following, a Committee of the Irish Parliament for a free conference having been appointed, to consider the transportation of foreign Gold and Silver out of the Kingdom, to France, Spain, and the Low Countries, whereby Ireland was drained of its current species, Sir George Ratcliffe, and the rest of the Committee of the House of Commons, attended in the room appointed, when the Lords, being in the Upper House, came forth and took their places. Sir George Ratcliffe then, assisted by Mr. Patrick Darcy and others, made a learned and eloquent discourse, in which was set forth how many Mints were antiently in the Kingdom; how that, in the time of King Edward I. the King had *£.3000 per annum* profit by the Mint, which was nine thousand Pounds in value at that time; that the Mint continued until about the reign of King Edward VI.; and that, for many weighty reasons, conducing to the honour and profit of the King and his Dominion of Ireland, it was the desire of the Commons, that their Lordships would join with them in moving his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to cause a Mint to be erected and set up; and, if their Lordships approved thereof, that a Touch be thought on, which would be wished to be the same as in England; and whether it would be fit and likely to be set up at the King's charge, or at the charge of such as would undertake the same; and if it should be thought fit,

<sup>r</sup> Proclamation. Simon's Irish Coins, Appendix, No XXXVII.

they might be able to do, that his Majesty might be pleased to declare himself. On the 15th of the same month, a Committee of the Commons was admitted into the House of Lords, and Sir George Ratcliffe, assisted by divers others of the House of Commons, approached the Bar, and delivered a Petition touching a Mint and Assay to be set up. The Committee departed, and the Lord Chancellor reported the Petition to the Lords, and moved that the same should be presented to the Lord Deputy as the joint Act of both Houses. It was accordingly presented, and the Lord Chancellor declared (from the Lord Deputy) to the Lords and Commons, that his Lordship had perused it, and would give it the best furtherance he could. The Petition was, in consequence, transmitted to the King, who was pleased to grant their request, and to order an Indenture to be drawn for that service, buildings to be erected, and such other preparations to be made, as might tend to the perfecting of that business.

It appeared from a Letter of the Lords of the Council in England to the Lord Deputy and Council, that some steps had been taken to forward the scheme, and that draughts of an Indenture, and other papers relating to it, had been delivered to Sir Walter Raleigh. It was thereby agreed, that Gold and Silver Money should be struck of the same standard with those of England, for weight and allay, and of such species, and with such impressions and stamps, as his Majesty should direct, or

as the Lord Deputy and Council should think fit, so as they should be free from suspicion, and by doing so, to be able to see the Monies of England, but through the necessities of the times, this beneficial project came to nothing. On the 7th of April a special Commission was granted to Sir Henry Mildmay and others, for the inquiry and finding out of abuses committed by Goldsmiths, and others trading in Gold. The report stated, that great waste of Gold and Silver was occasioned by refining and reducing these Metals above the fineness of the standard; by reason whereof they were sold at much higher rates than either the Mint or Exchange could allow; and that sundry other abuses were committed in the buying of Plate, of things stolen, either from the King or his subjects, and also in exporting Gold and Silver from the realm. The King, who was pleased to see the King's Commission, therefore, I was authorized to make the proper inquiries for discovering these abuses, and for bringing the offenders to condign punishment.

In 1635-6. A Proclamation was issued upon the 18th of January following, to restrain the counterfeiting of the Coin and Bullion of the Realm, and the deceitful making of Gold and Silver Thread, and to regulate the same for the time to come. For these purposes, Commissioners were appointed, to see the laws well executed; and it was forbidden to melt or base any Coins except for foreign; and Gold and Silver Thread was commanded to be settled.

Simon, page 46.

<sup>u</sup> Pat. 11 Charles I. p. 5. m. 14. dors. Rymer, XIX. p. 626.

<sup>x</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

On the 26th, a Commission passed the Seal for the appointment of persons to carry into execution the provisions of the foregoing Proclamation; with power to commit those who should refuse to give answer to such interrogatories as the Commissioners should see fit to put to them.

Great quantities of counterfeit Farthing Tokens being at this time in circulation, it was declared by Proclamation, dated upon the 1st of March, that no Farthing Tokens should be paid or received, in England or Ireland, except such as had been made, or should hereafter be made, by the late King, or by his present Majesty. And that if any of them should be counterfeited, or any counterfeit Tokens, or any Copper Pieces made for the use of the realm of Scotland, or any foreign parts, should be vented or used, then in all such cases the persons willingly or knowingly offending therein, should be proceeded against according to the laws, and as transgressors of his Majesty's authority and royal prerogative.

It was also declared to be illegal to compel any persons to take any Farthing Tokens against their will.

And to the end that those hereafter to be made might be distinguished from such as were counterfeited, directions were given to Henry Lord Matra- vers, and Sir Francis Crane, Knt. Chancellor of the most noble order of the Garter, (who had, under his Majesty, the care and management of that business,) that they should cause the said Farthing Tokens to be made with such a distinction of Brass as would

readily make them known from all others<sup>2</sup>, and thereby free the people from being any longer deceived.

The Proclamation authorized these Tokens to pass within the realms of England and Ireland, and the dominion of Wales, for the value of Farthings, to be used only for exchange in small sums, for the ease and convenience of those who should be willing to accept the same. And it was likewise ordered, that the said Farthing Tokens, and also those formerly made, either by the late King or by his present Majesty, should be from time to time rechanged into the current Money of the said kingdoms, for the ease of those who should require such exchange. And all persons were required to take notice of the said alteration of the Farthing Tokens, and also of his Majesty's care for the rechange, which it was his will should be so guided and governed, that those who received the said Tokens in the use of their trades might not be put to loss thereby, nor yet any be encouraged, under hope of the same, to get into their hands greater proportion of the said Tokens than might well serve for their necessary use and occasions<sup>2</sup>.

1637. In Hilary Term, this year, a complaint was exhibited in the Star Chamber, by Sir John Bankes, Knt. Attorney General, against Henry Futter, Henry Sweeting, Peter Hern, John Terry, Arnold Brames, Isaac Gold, Randal Crew, Francis Brogden, Luke Lee, Timothy Eman, John Per-

<sup>2</sup> They were accordingly made of Copper, as before, with a small piece of Brass in the centre.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. See also Pat. 11 Charles I. p. 1. m. 17. Rymer, XIX. p. 760.



ryn, and Edward Vaughan, for transporting Gold and Silver out of the kingdom into foreign parts, and for culling out the weightiest Coins, and for melting down his Majesty's Money into Bullion, and for giving above the prices of his Majesty's Mint for Gold and Silver.

The Attorney-General moved, for the present, the charge of having given more than the Mint prices for Gold and Silver; and then stated that the persons above-mentioned, had offended against the Proclamation and Articles of the 25th of May in the 3d year of the King, which prohibited the carrying of Gold or Silver out of the realm, &c. &c. In On examination it appeared that Sweeting, Hunt, Terry, and Brames, had repeatedly exported Coins. That Kitchin's constant course, from 1624 to 1681, had been to employ his servants to cull, and sort out, by the balance, the heaviest Shillings and Sixpences, and that he afterwards sold them by the ounce at a profit of three *per cent.*, it being usual to find fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen Pounds, or more, heavy in one hundred Pounds. That in the years 1628, 29, 30, and 31, he culled  $\pounds 500,000$  a-year, which produced seven or eight thousand Pounds heavy Money yearly; part of which he melted into ingots, and sold, and the greatest part, to the value of  $\pounds 20,000$ , he sold unmelted. That he gave to those who furnished him with heavy culled English Money two, and sometimes three, Shillings *per cent.* to have the culling thereof. That from 1621, to 1623, he melted down  $\pounds 5000$ ; and from 1626 to 1681  $\pounds 15,000$ ; his profit thereout amounting to  $\pounds 100$ .

That Putter did buy light Gold, and did furnish



one Violet with £1000 thereof, beyond the allowance of great rates, knowing that he bought it either to transport it himself, or to furnish transporters withall.

That Pervyn bought heavy English Coin, and melted it into Bullion.

Futter, Sweeting, Horn, Terry, Brames, Eman, and Pervyn, were sentenced to be committed to the Fleet. Horn, Terry, and Eman, to be fined £2000 each; Brames £1000; Futter and Sweeting £500 each; and Pervyn, £100. Gould, Crew, and Lee were convicted of having carried out of the Kingdom several small sums and quantities of Rix Dollars, (an offence punishable in that Court, if done without the King's license,) but, as it did not clearly appear that they had transported any large quantities, and as the necessities of trade to Norway required the carrying out some Monies, the Court did forbear, at that time, to censure them, and they

Violet admits that this charge was true, and that he was informed against in the Star Chamber, and imprisoned for above twenty weeks, for refusing to answer to interrogatories, and he last obtained his pardon on condition of discovering what trade porters, &c. of Bullion he knew, and on paying a fine to the King's privy purse of two thousand pounds in Gold. [A true discovery to the Commons of England how they have been cheated of almost all the Gold and Silver Coin of this Nation, by Thomas Violet; folio, Lond: 1658, pages 99 and 100]. He boasts, in some of his publications, that the persons who were at this time brought before the Star Chamber, were accused and convicted by him; that he had authority for that purpose from King Charles I. by warrant under his hand and seal; and that he did this at his own charge. [See A true Discovery (quoted above), page 46; Appeal to Ourselves, page 30; and our humble Declaration to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons touching Transportation of Gold and Silver, page 10.]

were discharged. Edward Vaughan was dismissed and discharged<sup>c</sup>.

Great inconvenience having arisen from the practice of reckoning the accounts of the King's Revenues in Ireland by Irish Money, (or Harps,) which was a fourth part less than sterling English; whereby it sometimes happened, that his Majesty's Process to Sheriffs being issued in that manner, those officers, in some parts, levied sterling English Money instead of Irish, and thereby over-charged one fourth part more than ought to have been paid; in order to obviate such abuses, and also the uncertainty which had sometimes occurred respecting bonds and other agreements, it was declared by Proclamation, on the 6th of April, that from and after the 20th day of March, preceding the date of the Proclamation, all the accounts, receipts, payments, and issues of his Majesty's Monies, in Ireland, should pass, and be accountable, in English Money, and not, as had been formerly used, in Irish Money; viz. accounting twelve Pence sterling for sixteen Pence Irish, and so *pro rata* for greater or lesser sums. And that all records to be made by, from, and after the said time, of any of his Majesty's Monies, or debts, and all extracts, of what kind and nature soever, of any debts due to his Majesty, and all surveys, inquisitions, and other records whatsoever, should be from thenceforth returned, and made up, reckoned, and accounted in English Money, according to the rate aforesaid, and not as had been formerly. And that all processes, of what nature soever, issuing after the said time, for any debts

<sup>c</sup> Rushworth's Historical Collections, Part II. vol. I. p. 350.

due to his Majesty, should mention the sum in English Money, according to the rate above mentioned; and that all reservation of rents, bills, bonds, &c. &c. after the 1st day of May following, to be made and contracted between party and party, for Monies, should be understood and interpreted to be English; though the same should not have the word sterling, or English, added to them, and that they should be accordingly so adjudged by all his Majesty's Judges, and others whom it might concern, and as often as any controversy of that kind should arise before them<sup>d</sup>.

On the 30th of July a Mint was established in the Castle of Aberistwith, in the County of Cardigan and Principality of Wales, for the purpose of refining and coining the Silver drawn from the Mines in that Principality, the Coins to be marked on both sides with the feathers, for a clear difference from other Monies. The Indenture with Mr. Bushell, Master and Worker of the Mint, bore the same date, and authorised him to coin Half Crowns, Shillings, Half Shillings, Twopenny Pieces, and Pennies.

<sup>d</sup> Proclamation. Simon's Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> XLV.

Simon says, that the meaning of this Proclamation was misunderstood, some persons being of opinion, that all rents due or payable to the Crown before, ought to have been paid, since that time, at the rate of one English Shilling, instead of twelve Pence Irish. But surely those persons could never have read the Proclamation, which is very clearly worded; or if they had read it, and yet could so misunderstand it, I question whether they would be much enlightened by the following passage which he quotes, for that purpose, from Lord Strafford's Letters, vol. II. pp. 90, 103. "All accounts in the Exchequer, and all payments upon contracts, betwixt man and man, are now reduced into sterling Money, so as hereafter, we shall not need, for distinction, to add Irish or sterling, for all hereafter is to be understood after the English accounts, twenty Shillings in the pound." [Essay on Irish Coins, page 47.]

of the same value as those coined in the Tower of London. And by a Commission dated on the 22d of October he was empowered to add Groats, Three-penny Pieces, and Halfpennies<sup>e</sup>.

The grant to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Knt. (which bore date upon the 20th of October, 1632,) of the office of making and assizing the Money weights, was, on the 12th of October, in this year, renewed to him and to his son William Aylesbury. It gave to them the agency for the sole making, uttering, and vending all counterpoizes, or weights, and grains, and for the approving and allowing all balances for his Majesty's Coins or Money of Gold, within England and Ireland, for the term of their lives<sup>f</sup>.

1638. On the 21st of March the East India Company again petitioned to be allowed to export Gold. But, as in their former Petition of the 25th of September, 1632, they stated that Gold was necessary to them, because it was more sought for than Silver in the East, so now they assigned a totally different reason for their Petition; namely, that Royals of Eight were so scarce, in the Kingdom, that they could not furnish themselves with such a proportion of that species as their occasions required, and therefore they prayed that they might be permitted to buy up £.20,000 of foreign or English Gold, and to export the same; which was granted to them<sup>g</sup>.

1639. In the Parliament which met at Edinburgh in this year, the Scotch demanded certain articles of the King; one of which was, that the

<sup>e</sup> Folkes, p. 82. See a more full account in the particular history of the respective Mints.

<sup>f</sup> Rymer, vol. XX. page 200.

<sup>g</sup> Pat. 14 C. I. p. 44. m. 5. Rymer, vol. XX. p. 298.

Coin should not be meddled with but by advice of Parliament. His Majesty resisted this attempt to invade his prerogative in the following terms: "For the Coin, it is a prerogative most peculiar to the Crown, and none can meddle with it, but by your consent, without incurring the punishment of high treason, as it is in all Kingdoms." *ibid.* 620-40. About this time the House of Commons appears to have directed its attention to the evils which were occasioned by the exportation of Gold, the consideration of which was on the 15th of March, referred to a Committee, and Thomas Violet, of London, Goldsmith, one who followed that business, was ordered to attend from time to time and to have the privilege of the House freely to come and go, without the molestation of any during the dependence of that business, unless upon any complaint against him to the House, it should be otherwise ordered. *ibid.* On the 22d of the same month it was resolved that the four persons who had been brought up from Dover, by a warrant under the Speaker's hand, as witnesses to testify in the cause of transportation of Gold, should be forthwith freed from any constraint that they should pay no fees as aldermen, but should enter into bonds of £1,000 and procure with out sureties, to appear & decide in due time, when required. *ibid.*

On the 20th of March these four persons had in relation down into the country, upon their occasions, giving bond to appear at five days warning. [Commons Journals, vol. II, p. 114.]

1640. The King's necessities now became so urgent, that in the month of July he gave orders to seize upon the Bullion in the Mint at the Tower, which had been brought from beyond sea to be coined there<sup>1</sup>. This gave a great alarm to the Spanish Merchants and others, with which they were obliged forthwith to acquaint their correspondents and partners abroad, and they likewise made an immediate address to his Majesty, humbly declaring, that such an example would for ever after hinder the bringing of Bullion into the Tower, and would prove to his Majesty's great prejudice, not only by the loss of the coinage of Bullion, but also in his reputation (his faith being pledged for the freedom of Merchants to bring in their Bullion to the Tower, and freely to carry the same out again). So the

<sup>1</sup> This seizure of the Money in the Mint, was stated as one of many obstructions to the freedom and fullness of trade in the City of London, in a petition which was presented by divers citizens of that City, to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, on the 24th of April, 1641.

It was there said, that the stopping of Money in the Mint, which till then was accounted the safest place, and surest staple in these parts of the world, did still hinder the importation of Bullion. Rushworth says it was subscribed by 20,000 persons of good rank and quality. [Parliamentary Hist. vol. IX. p. 265.].

Mr. Malone says, "It is well known that previous to the year 1640, the Mint was the usual place of deposit for the running cash of Merchants. The seizure of the Money there by Charles I. destroyed for ever the credit of the Mint." [Inquiry into the authenticity of the Shakespeare MSS. page 333.] It would have been well if some proof had been given of a fact so publickly known, as this custom of lodging cash in the Mint is said to be. As it appears from the text, the Bullion was brought into the Mint for the express purpose of its being coined into Money, and not with the intention of placing it there to be drawn out as occasion might require.

result of that day's debate at the Council was, that the owners of the Bullion, which had been seized, should be desired to let the King have £.40,000 of it, being the third part of the Money in the Mint, and his Majesty tendered them security for the payment thereof, with interest, by his Farmers of the Customs, whose security the Merchants did accept, and accommodated his Majesty with the sum required, which was afterwards duly repaid to them; and thereupon the Council ordered, that the foreign post, which was stayed upon the seizure of the Mint, should be at liberty to carry letters beyond seas.

About the same time the King bought up a large quantity of pepper, upon credit, and sold it again immediately at a much undervalue.

But these ways of getting Money were but shifts to stop one leak in twenty in the ship; for that nothing but a standing supply could constantly keep up an army in good order and reputation; and thereupon it was debated at the Council to mix Silver and Copper together, and to coin to the value of £.300,000. The Coin to be such, that three Pence in Silver, added to a quantity of Copper, should be made to go current for twelve Pence<sup>m</sup>. And that it should be declared by Proclamation, that it should be current Money to pay the army, marching to Newcastle.

This business held several days debate, yet at last

<sup>m</sup> This was considered as so unpopular a measure, that Sir Ralph Freeman, Master of the Mint, declared to Lord Strafford, that the servants in the Mint House would refuse to work the Copper Money; to which the Earl replied, that then it were well to send those servants to the House of Correction. [State Trials, vol. I. p. 751.]



his Majesty and the Council thought fit to hear Sir Thomas Roe's judgment and opinion upon it, he being a person well experienced in the Coins of Sweden and other foreign parts; who being permitted to speak his opinion, declared that such a measure would intrench very far both into the honour and justice and also into the profit of the King<sup>n</sup>.

Ludlow says Brass Money was projected, and some prepared, but that project took no effect<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part II. vol. II. p. 1216. Rushworth gives Sir T. Roe's Speech at length, and it is verbatim the same with one which is printed as being delivered by Sir Robert Cotton, at the Council Table, on the 2d of September in the second year of the King; [see Cottoni Posthuma, p. 285.] and I cannot but believe it to be really his, because the purport of it well agrees with the then intended enhancing of the Coins. The arguments apply only to a small alteration in the standard, and are by no means referrible to such a violent measure as that which is stated above in the text. They are also applied, by the speaker himself, to Coins of both Gold and Silver, whereas the proposed debasement was of the Silver only.

Sir Thomas Roe's Speech was printed in 1641, and Cottoni Posthuma in 1651. These dates come so near to each other, that it is difficult to account for the appropriation of so remarkable a speech to two different persons.

<sup>o</sup> Memoirs, vol. I. page 9.

The 26th article against Lord Strafford, charged him, that having, by his wicked councils, brought his Majesty to excessive charges, without any just cause, he did (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous and wicked projects, *viz.* to seize upon the Bullion and the Money in the Mint, and to imbase his Majesty's Coin with mixtures of Brass.

That when Bullion and Money were accordingly seized to the amount of £130,000, and the Merchants, and others, to whom they belonged, came to his house, and represented to him the great mischief that course would produce, he, the Earl, told them, that the City of London dealt undutifully and unthank-



1641. It therefore became necessary to devise other means to raise a supply; and accordingly, on the 2d of June, it was moved in the Commons, that in respect Money could not be procured so suddenly as was required, there might be an order taken for the melting of a proportion of Plate, and turning it into Coin: which was well liked, and referred to a Committee P.

On the fourth of the same month, divers Goldsmiths were sent for to attend the Committee, to resolve what sort of Plate might be melted down with the least loss. Also the Minters attended, to certify what expedition they could make for the

fully with his Majesty; and that they were more ready to help the rebels, than to help his Majesty; and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes to make use of such Monies to serve their occasions.

That when the Officers of his Majesty's Mint came to him and gave him divers reasons against the imbasing the said Money, he told them, that the French King did use to send commissaries of horse with commission to search into men's estates, and to peruse their accounts, that so they might know what to levy of them by force, which they did accordingly levy. And turning to Lord Cottington, then present, said, that this was a point worthy of his Lordship's consideration; meaning, this course of the French King to levy Monies by force was a point worthy of his Lordship's consideration. [State Trials, vol. I. p. 729.]

The Earl stated, in his defence, that he advised neither of those projects; but it being debated in Council whether it were better for the King to raise Gold and Silver, or to coin base Money, he (for the reasons then given) delivered his opinion for the latter. And as to the words stated to have been spoken by him, he denied them, as either never having been spoken by him, or not with the intention imputed to them. [State Trials, vol. I. p. 735.]

P Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part III, vol. I. p. 280.

coining of it. And agreed, that for relieving the present necessity of Money, a proportion of Plate should be melted for Coin, and that the same should be Trencher Plate, and Dish Plate; and that all persons from whom any such Plate should be taken should have security for it, to be repaid either in Plate or Money<sup>q</sup>.

Accordingly a Bill was read in the Commons, upon the ninth of that month, for the melting a quantity of Plate to be turned into Coin. It provided that every one who had twenty Pounds worth of Plate should send half of it to be coined, and in the mean time to have security and interest for the forbearance. Such as lived within ten miles of London were to send their Plate within four days; within twenty miles in fourteen days; and those who lived within sixty miles within twenty days. After some debate it was referred to a Committee, and the Warden of the Mint, and other officers, with the Company of Goldsmiths, were ordered to attend that Committee on the Friday following<sup>r</sup>.

On the 9th of July the Committee to which the business concerning the transportation of Gold had been referred was ordered to make a report<sup>s</sup>.

But it should seem that neither that, nor the Bill for bringing-in of Plate, was proceeded with any further; and their failure was probably occasioned by the jealousy which the Parliament entertained of the King, and the disputes (which at last terminated so fatally) having at this time arisen to a considerable height.

<sup>q</sup> Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part III. vol. I. p. 281.

<sup>r</sup> Id. p. 283.

<sup>s</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 197.

The Scotch, who in the year 1639 demanded that the Coin should not be meddled with without the consent of Parliament, and were answered that the Coinage was the King's peculiar prerogative, were either not satisfied, or else concluded that the peculiar situation in which the King was at this time placed would oblige him to comply with their request, and therefore, on the 1st of April in this year, they again expressed their desire concerning the Copper Coins. To which it was answered, that whereas the Scottish Commissioners had represented to his Majesty, the great prejudice sustained by the Kingdom of Scotland, through the coining of Copper Money, which had passed there, for a long time, for seven times, and above, as much as the true value and worth thereof, contrary to the continual custom of that Kingdom, and therefore desiring that no Copper Money should be coined hereafter, without the consent of the Estates convened in Parliament, who might remedy the present prejudices the Country sustained thereby; and who, upon good consideration of the necessity thereof in time to come, might appoint such a competent proportion as should be fit, as the Country should require, for the use of the poor, and for change in buying and selling commodities; and that the same should not pass but according to the intrinsic value thereof, with the allowance of a tenth part, or such a proportion as the Parliament should think fit to allow for the impression, and workmanship in coining. His Majesty was therefore graciously pleased to recommend, to the ensuing Parliament of Scotland, the whole matter of Copper Coins, and remitted to their consideration to take such order therein as they should

think fitting; not only concerning the Copper Coins to be coined hereafter, but also the Copper Money already coined, how the same should take vent, and pass in payment in time coming, conform to the paper of the ninth of June last<sup>t</sup>.

On the 10th of August the Commons made an order, similar to that which was made by the Lords upon the sixth; namely, that it was not the intention of the House to stay or seize any foreign Bullion or Coin, imported, or to be imported, into the Kingdom; but that all liberty should be as fully used at that time, as in any former times whatsoever<sup>u</sup>.

In a remonstrance which the Parliament presented to the King, at Hampton Court, upon the 1st of December, they upbraided him with his violation of the publick faith, as well as of private interest, in seizing the Money and Bullion in the Mint; and also, that the whole Kingdom was like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of Brass Money<sup>x</sup>.

About this time Sir William Balfour, Knt. was removed from his place of Lieutenant of the Tower, and Colonel Lunsford was appointed to succeed him.

On the 23d of December, the Commons, in consequence of a Petition from the City of London, proposed to the Lords to join with them in a Petition to the King to remove Colonel Lunsford, and to put Sir John Coniers in his room. This the Lords refused, as being contrary to the King's prerogative.

<sup>t</sup> Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part III. vol. I. p. 369.

<sup>u</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 250.

<sup>x</sup> Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part III. vol. I. p. 441.

The Commons on this refusal passed the following vote, — That this House holds Colonel Lunsford unfit to be, or to continue, Lieutenant of the Tower, as being a person whom the Commons of England cannot confide in; and at a conference with the Lords they assigned these reasons for his removal.—That they had already found ill consequences by his being in that office, for Merchants had withdrawn their Bullion out of the Mint; and strangers, who had ships lately come with great store of Bullion, had forbore to bring it to the Mint, because he was Lieutenant of the Tower; by which means Money would be scarce to come by, to the prejudice and obstruction of the pressing affairs of Ireland. Being, however, unable to persuade the Lords to join with them in the Petition, they entered a declaration of their intention to petition, and the Lords refusal, on their Journals<sup>y</sup>.

1641-2. I do not find the precise time when Colonel Lunsford<sup>z</sup> was removed, but on the 11th of

<sup>y</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 180.

<sup>z</sup> Col. Lunsford afterwards distinguished himself as a soldier, on the King's part, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Edgehill on the 23d of October 1642. [Parl. Hist. vol. XI. p. 479.]

See in Hudibras, part III. canto 11. line 1112, a curious note on the name of Lunsford, who, it was reported, used to eat children. This insinuation was ridiculed in the Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs, vol. I. No 17, and by Cleveland, who says,

“The post that came from Banbury,  
Riding in a blue rocket,  
He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,  
A child's arm in his pocket.”

To make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland. (*Rupertismus*, Works, 1677, p. 67.)

January following Sir John Byron was Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Commons again desired the Lords to join them in a Petition to the King for his removal, and in a recommendation of Sir John Coniers; which the Lords again refused <sup>a</sup>.

On the next day they summoned Sir John Byron to appear before them; and on his refusal voted, first, that he had been guilty of an high contempt, and secondly, that he should be sent for as a delinquent.

In the first of these votes the Lords concurred with them; to the second they demurred for that time <sup>b</sup>.

The Commons then, on the 15th of the same month, held a conference with the Lords upon the subject, and declared, that the Citizens said, though the Lieutenant might be a worthy gentleman otherwise, yet he was a man unknown to them, and that his being in that post produced ill effects. That the Merchants began to draw their Bullion out of the Mint, had written to their factors to send no more, that a ship was in the Thames, in which was a great deal of Bullion, but the owners would not carry it to the Mint, because they could not confide in the Lieutenant of the Tower. For these, and other reasons, they desired the Lords to join with them in their petition to the King.

Before the Lords would come to any resolution thereupon they ordered certificates to be made from

“ They fear the giblets of his train, they fear  
Even his dog, that four-legg'd Cavalier;  
He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,  
Whose picture feeds upon a child in stakes.”

<sup>a</sup> Parliamentary Hist. vol. X. p. 195.      <sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 197.

the Common Council of London, &c. of the decay in trade, &c. and whether it proceeded from Sir John Byron's being Lieutenant of the Tower, and required them to be speedily laid before the Lords in Parliament<sup>c</sup>.

On the 17th of January some Merchants and Goldsmiths presented a Petition to the Lords against the Lieutenant of the Tower, and were called in and asked these questions :

What number of Merchants and Goldsmiths, besides themselves, brought in Bullion to the Mint?

They answered, Sir Peter Richout, and some few more, but not many.

What reason they had for their fears and jealousies of Sir John Byron, and why they forbore to bring their Bullion to the Mint?

They replied, that they had heard he had disobeyed the orders of both Houses of Parliament<sup>d</sup>; also that he was a gentleman unknown to them, and they desired to have *such a Lieutenant put in as the Parliament approved of*<sup>e</sup>.

The Lords, however, do not appear to have been satisfied that any interference was necessary on the part of Parliament, for they still refused to join in the Petition of the Commons<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 209.

<sup>d</sup> N. B. Before he disobeyed those orders, the Commons had stated that no Bullion was brought to the Mint; therefore the supply could not have been affected by his conduct.

<sup>e</sup> These words explain the meaning of the whole transaction, and prove it to have been a struggle, on the part of the Commons, to get the Tower into their hands. I have given the transaction at length, as it affords a curious picture of the spirit of those times.

<sup>f</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 214.

On the 22d of the same month, the Commons sent a message to the Mayor, &c. of the City of London, for the loan of £100,000. They stated, in answer, their disability, for various reasons, amongst which was the non-removal of the present Lieutenant of the Tower, which had prevented the bringing of Bullion to the Mint, and had occasioned a scarcity of Money.

This answer was laid before the Lords, at another conference on the 25th, and was introduced by Mr. Pymme in a long speech on the subject of that answer, and of many petitions concerning the state of the Kingdom. His speech received the thanks of the Commons, and was ordered to be printed g.

The perseverance of the Commons at length prevailed, and in February, Sir John Byron was removed, and Sir John Coniers was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower in his stead h.

At this time their Majesties were reduced to so great wants, that the Queen was compelled to coin, or sell, her chamber plate, for the supply of the most necessary occasions, there being no Money in the Exchequer, nor in the power of the Ministers of the Revenue; the issue of Money from the Customs, out of which the allowance for the weekly support of their Majesties Household was supplied, being forbidden by the Commons i.

On the 22d of March, the Lords sent a paper to the Commons, which contained a conception of an order for the immunity of bringing in Bullion from foreign parts to the Mint, and desired their appro-

g Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 229.

h Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 328.

i Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 327.



bation therein. The order was committed, and answer returned, that the House had taken their Lordships Message into consideration, and would send an answer by their own messengers <sup>k</sup>. It does not appear, however, that any thing further was done.

1642. A Committee of four Members of the House of Commons was appointed, on the 26th of May, to go to the Tower, and to examine the Officers of the Mint, as to what quantity of Plate, &c. had lately been brought in, and was then there. What quantity of Gold had been lately, and was then daily coined; from whom they had it, and how they had disposed of it <sup>l</sup>.

They made their report on the next day, and stated, that Monsieur Briott, the King's graver, said, that there was brought in, on the 18th of May, Spanish Pistoles to the amount of about £.4500 sterling, as would appear by the Mint Books; that on the 26th about the same sum was brought in, and more was expected in the afternoon. All which was to be coined into English Gold, for the use of the Duke D'Esperton, to whom it belonged. The Duke being informed that this circumstance occasioned some jealousy, desired Mr. Hollis to acquaint the House, that rather than he would give any occasion to the House for the least suspicion of him, he would send his Money out of the Kingdom, and his person suddenly after. Mr. Hollis was desired to acquaint him that the House was well satisfied of his clear intentions <sup>m</sup>.

About the middle of this year, all hopes of accom-

<sup>k</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 491.

<sup>l</sup> Id. p. 587.

<sup>m</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 588.

modation, between the King and his Parliament, seem to have been abandoned, and both parties began to prepare for the contest.

In order to raise a sufficient supply for that purpose, the Lords and Commons published propositions and orders on the 10th of June, for bringing in Money and Plate, in which they promised repayment of the Money with interest according to eight pounds per cent. and the full value of the plate, with consideration for the fashion, not exceeding one Shilling by the ounce, for which both Houses of Parliament engaged the publick faith<sup>n</sup>; and on the 5th of July the Deputy Lieutenants of each County were authorized to name receivers to take such plate, &c. and to give acquittances for the same; and it was desired that those who would bring in Plate, &c. would bring it with all convenient speed<sup>o</sup>; and an ordinance was afterwards made for assessing all those who should not contribute according to their ability<sup>p</sup>.

The King's necessities being equally urgent, he in a few days after the publication of the propositions above stated, set forth a declaration, in which he called upon his subjects to contribute for his assistance, and said that he was so far from requiring a twentieth part of their estates, though for their own visible preservation, that as he had already sold or

<sup>n</sup> Propositions and Orders by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, 4to, Lond. 1642.

<sup>o</sup> Another Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 4to, Lond. 1642.

<sup>p</sup> See an Ordinance and Declaration of the Lords and Commons to that effect, 4to, Lond. 1642.

pawned his own jewels, and coined his own plate, so he was willing to sell all his own lands and houses for their relief<sup>q</sup>.

He also declared, that he would proceed against all such as should assist the levies to be made against him with plate, &c. as disturbers of the publick peace<sup>r</sup>. The only notice which the two Houses took of this threat, was an Order of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that the Treasurers who had been appointed to receive the plate, should have power to melt it down, and cause it to be coined forthwith, and the same with respect to all other plate which should hereafter be brought in<sup>s</sup>. A Committee of Lords and Commons had been previously appointed to order the melting; and likewise how much should be previously coined<sup>t</sup>.

The Parliamentary Ordinance produced immense sums (amounting as was generally said at that time to several millions) such crowds coming to the place of subscription in London, that some men were forced to attend there two days before they could get an opportunity of subscribing<sup>u</sup>; and such as did

<sup>q</sup> Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. II. p. 81.

<sup>r</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. XI. p. 232. The King also offered eight per cent. on such of his lands, forests, &c. as should be sufficient security; "more real," says his Declaration, "than the publick faith given without us and against us, as if we were no part of the publick." [Id. page 219.]

<sup>s</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 632. <sup>t</sup> Id. p. 629 and 630.

<sup>u</sup> Carte's Hist. of England, vol. IV. p. 438. "You would admire what sums of ready Money, what rings of Gold, what store of massy Plate, both Silver and gilt, were brought in a few days to Guildhall. Guildhall did never deserve its name so properly as at this present." [Life and Death of Robert Earl of Essex. Harleian Miscellany, vol. I. p. 217.]

not were either taxed exorbitantly, or their

This eagerness of the Citizens to part with their Plate is ridiculed in a poem addressed to my Lord B—— of S——, he being at York; [where the King was at this time.]

“And now my Lord, since you have London left

Where Merchants wives dine cheap, and as cheap sup,

Where fooles themselves have of their Plate bereft,

And sigh and drinke in the course Pewter cuppe.

Where's not a Silver Spooone left, not that given than,

When the first Cockney was made Christian.

No, not a bodkin, pincase, all they send

Or carry all, whatever they can happe on,

E'en to the pretty Picktooth, whose each end

Oft purg'd the reliques of continuall Capon.

Nothing must stay behind, nothing must tarry,

No not the ring by wch deare Joane took Harry.”

[Men Miracles. With other Poemes by M. L. L. [Llewellyn.] London, 16mo, 1656, page 70.]

Lilly, in his Monarchy or no Monarchy in England, says, that “the Parliament were at that time glad to see any men's willingness and forwardnesse unto their service; therefore they promised largely, and made some pleasing votes; so that the Plate and Moneys of the Citizens came tumbling into Guildhall upon the publique faith.” [P. 112.]

Butler has animadverted upon this circumstance with all the severity of his satire.

“Did Saints, for this, bring in their Plate,

And crowd as if they came too late’.

For when they thought the Cause had need on't,

Happy was he that could be rid on't.

Did they coin *Piss-pots*, *Bowls*, and *Flaggons*,

Int' officers of horse and dragoons;

And into pikes and musquetteers,

Stamp *beakers*, *cups*, and *porringers*?

A *thimble*, *bodkin*<sup>2</sup>, and a *spoon*,

---

<sup>1</sup> One of these Saints thanks God for his riches in Plate, by which he was enabled to subscribe fifteen Pounds in Plate for the use of the Parliament, when called upon by the Commissioners. [Dr. Grey's Note.]

<sup>2</sup> It was a common jeer of men disaffected to the Cause, to call this the *Thimble and Bodkin Army*. May's Hist. of the Parl. lib. II. p. 97. [Dr. Grey's Note.]

houses plundered, and their plate taken away by force <sup>x</sup>.

The two Houses also made an order upon the 12th of July, to prevent the Universities from carrying their plate away to maintain the war against the Parliament <sup>y</sup>.

The King's Declaration brought in at this time a great deal of Money, for the people in general were offended at the Parliament for the manner in which they rejected the King's offer of peace; and they who could not serve him in their persons, contrived ways to supply him with Money. Notwithstanding the Order of the two Houses of the 12th of July, some eminent Governors in the Universities gave him notice, that all the Colleges were very plentifully supplied with plate, which would amount to good value, and lay useless in their treasuries, there being enough besides for their common use: and there was not the least doubt, but that whensoever his Majesty should think fit to require that treasure, it would be all sent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and when he was at Nottingham, in that melancholick season, two gentlemen were dis-

Did start up living men, as soon  
As in the furnace they were thrown,  
Just like the *dragon's teeth* being sown.  
Then was the *Cause* of Gold and Plate,  
The brethren's offerings, consecrate,  
Like th' *Hebrew Calf*, and down before it  
The Saints fell prostrate, to adore it.  
So say the *Wicked*."

[Hudibras, part I. canto 2. line 562.]

<sup>x</sup> English and Scotch Presbytery, p. 320, as quoted in Dr. Grey's note to Hudibras, part I. canto 2. line 576.

<sup>y</sup> Parl. Hist. vol. XI. p. 288.

patched to Oxford, and to Cambridge (two to each) with letters to the several Vice Chancellors, that they should move the Heads and Principals of the several Colleges and Halls, that they would send their plate to the King; private advertisements being first sent to prepare and dispose those without whose consent the service could not be performed.

This whole affair was transacted with so great secrecy and discretion, that the messengers returned from the two Universities in as short a time as such a journey could well be made, and brought with them all, or very nearly all, their Plate<sup>2</sup>, and a considerable sum of Money, which was sent as a present to his Majesty from several of the Heads of Colleges, out of their own particular stores; some scholars coming with it, and helping to procure carts and horses for the service; all which came safe to Nottingham, at a time when there appeared no more expectation of a treaty; and contributed much to raise the dejected spirits of that place.

The Plate was presently weighed out, and delivered to the several officers who were entrusted to

<sup>2</sup> Carte says that the University of Oxford (by a Decree of Convocation) and most of the Colleges, sent all their Plate, which was safely conveyed; but that the particular constitution of Cambridge; where every man in the Caput has a negative, hindered that University from making a like Decree; and the particular Colleges had worse luck in sending their Plate, that of St. John's, Magdalen's, &c. being stopped and seized by Oliver Cromwell and others of that faction. [History of England, vol. IV. p. 441.] But it is related in the Life of Dr. Barwick that he, and other persons, outwitted Cromwell (who beset the common road) by sending the plate through bye roads from Cambridge, and brought it safe to his Majesty. [Page 25.] The King was at Nottingham from July 10th till about the 16th of September. [Deering's History of Nottingham, pp. 246—251.]

make levies of horse and foot, and who received it as Money; the rest was carefully preserved, to be carried with the King when he should remove from thence; secret orders being sent to the Officers of the Mint to be ready to come to his Majesty as soon as he should require them<sup>a</sup>, which he meant to do as soon as he should find himself in a place convenient.

There was now no more murmuring or complaining<sup>b</sup>. So much of this Plate as was then coined was probably minted at York; and the King soon after removing to Shrewsbury, erected a Mint there, in which he melted down and coined the remainder of the Plate that had been brought from the Universities, together with all his own for the service of his household, which made other men think theirs was the less worth preserving<sup>c</sup>.

This Mint did not continue long, and was indeed, as Clarendon represents it, "more for reputation

<sup>a</sup> However secretly these orders might be given, yet it appears that the Parliament were either apprized of them, or suspected that such a measure would be adopted, for orders were given to stop the materials belonging to the Mint, and they were accordingly detained at Scarborough, to which place they had been conveyed by sea. The Commons, after examining Briott, resolved, on the 23d of July, that Captain Stevens had done well in stopping them, as no authority appeared for transporting them. [Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 687.] Afterwards (upon the 5th of October) they ordered that the Officers of the Mint should be required not to suffer any officer, workmen, or instrument, belonging to the Mint, or coining, or graving, to quit their charge, or to be carried from thence, without order from the House. [Id. p. 795.]

<sup>b</sup> Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. II. p. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Id. p. 29. See a more full account of the Mint at Shrewsbury, in the particular History of the several Mints.

than use, because (for want of workmen and instruments) they could not coin a thousand Pounds a week." <sup>d</sup>

On the 24th of September a Petition was presented to the Commons, from divers persons, concerning the Office of Exchange and Rechange of Farthing Tokens. It was read and then referred to the Committee for Propositions; as was also all the business relating to the Patents for making such Tokens, and every thing else belonging to them<sup>e</sup>.

The Commons, upon the 28th of October, desired a conference with the Lords concerning some Scotch Coin, which passed up and down as current in the kingdom; and ordered that the Say Master of the Mint should be forthwith required to attend the House <sup>f</sup>.

I have not found any further proceedings in this business.

After the battle of Edgehill, which was fought upon the 23d of October, the King came to Oxford on the 28th of that month, when the several Colleges presented him with all that remained of their Plate, and with all the Money left in their several treasuries. And his Majesty having soon after removed the officers and workmen of his Mint from Aberistwith, they began about the end of the year to coin in New Inn Hall <sup>g</sup>.

About this time, Mr. Simon conjectures, that the chiefs of the rebels in Ireland struck those pieces which have on one side a cross, and on the other

<sup>d</sup> Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. II. p. 29.

<sup>e</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 780.

<sup>f</sup> Id. p. 497.

<sup>g</sup> Folkes, p. 85. See the History of the particular Mints, for a more full account of this, which was worked in Oxford.



side vs. or *ilr. vid.* to mark the value<sup>h</sup>; for those rebels, who pretended to act under the King's authority, (as appears from several of their Petitions to the King, in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond) amongst other acts of their General Assembly at Kilkenny in this year, ordered, on the 27th of October, that a seal should be made for the kingdom. On the 15th of November, that Coin and Plate should be raised and established in that kingdom, according to certain rates and values<sup>i</sup>, and that there should be forthwith coined the sum of four thousand Pounds, to pass current in and through the kingdom, according to a Proclamation or Act, published by direction of the Assembly in the City of Kilkenny, and not otherwise. They also ordered, on the 21st of the same month, the establishment of an Order of Knighthood in honour of St. Patrick<sup>k</sup>.

1642-3. On the 14th of January, in this year, a Proclamation, for the bringing-in Plate to the Mint, was published in Dublin. It began with stating, that the Lords Justices and Council had, in an

<sup>h</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XXVIII. N<sup>o</sup> 1 and 2.

<sup>i</sup> The rates and values are not specified.

<sup>k</sup> Simon, p. 48, and Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> XLVIII. quoting Rymer, vol. XX. p. 537, a mistake for 539. The date of this order for Coinage does not agree with Simon's conjecture that the pieces above mentioned were struck in imitation of, and in opposition to, those coined in Dublin by virtue of the Commission, dated upon the 25th of May, 1643, as it is not probable that the rebels would so long delay the Coinage which they had announced; I have therefore referred these Coins to this year. He supposes that the Copper pieces called St. Patrick's Halfpence and Farthings were also struck by the rebels' authority, and about the time which I have assigned to the Silver Coinage, in honour of St. Patrick, and the intended new Order of Knighthood." [Page 49.] See them represented in Supplement, Part II.

Order of their Board, dated upon the 5th of that month, declared, that they found it of absolute necessity, for the relief of the officers of the army, that all manner of persons dwelling in the City and Suburbs of Dublin, should within ten days after the publication of that Order, deliver half, or more, of their Plate to William Bladen, of Dublin, Alderman, and John Pue, one of the Sheriffs of the same City, taking their hand for the receipt thereof; to the end that use might be made thereof for the present relief of the said officers; and did give the word and assurance of his Majesty and the State, that as soon as the treasure should arrive forth of England, due satisfaction should be made after the rate of five Shillings the ounce, for such Plate as should be true touch; and the true value of such Plate as should not be of such touch, to the owner thereof, together with consideration for forbearance for the same, after the rate of eight Pounds *per cent. per annum*; or otherwise, that the Parliament in England, according to their several manifests in England in that behalf, should and would see the same accordingly paid. And forasmuch as they conceived that there were divers of his Majesty's good subjects in the County of Dublin, who had the like good affections for his Majesty and his service, as the inhabitants of the City and Suburbs of Dublin had, and would be loath to be deprived of the same means for expressing their good affections upon such an occasion, therefore they did, by Proclamation, extend the same liberty of bringing-in, and engagement for repayment to them, for Plate to be brought in within ten days from the date of publication of that Proclamation. And that they had

added Gilbert Tongues and Peter Vandenhoven to the assistance of the other persons who were appointed to view the said Plate and the value thereof<sup>l</sup>.

This Proclamation was cheerfully complied with, and the Plate was hastily coined into several kinds of species, of different shapes. Some with the weight stamped upon them in Pennyweights, and Grains; others marked with the value only<sup>m</sup>.

On the 15th of February, the sequestering the rents and profits of the Farthing Token Office, and the calling the Officers thereof to an account for the arrears, were referred to the Committee for the advance of Monies, at Haberdashers Hall, London<sup>n</sup>.

On the 23d it was resolved that two Pence in the Pound which had been usually paid to the Lady Villiers, out of . . . . Mint, and all other pensions payable to her, should be stayed and seized on.

At the same time resolved, that the Lords should be moved to join with the House, that there be a present trial of the Pix in the Mint, by a sufficient jury, according as had been usual; to which the Lords agreed<sup>o</sup>.

March 16, it was ordered that Sir Robert Harley should have power to give a privy mark for the Pix Money in the Mint, and that he should bring in an Ordinance for the restoring himself to his place in the Mint<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Proclamation. Simon's Appendix, No XLVI.

<sup>m</sup> Simon, p. 47. See Specimens. Silver Coins, Plate XXVII. Nos 1—5, and Supplement, Plate VI. Nos 3, 4, and 5. And that with the value only, Plate XXVII. No 6.

<sup>n</sup> Commons Journals, vol. II. p. 966.      <sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 976.

<sup>p</sup> Id. vol. III. p. 5. Sir R. Harley had been Master and Worker of the Mint for the King from 1626 to 1636, and was

1643. On the 27th of that month, the Commons referred to the Committee for Monies the information which was at that time given concerning one who undertook to bring in £10,000, upon such as had transported Gold<sup>q</sup>.

The Committee concerning the Farthing Tokens was, on the 31st of March, ordered to make a report on the morrow; and at the same time a report to be made concerning the Prince Elector; and Mr. Hill was directed to examine the patent for those Tokens at the Rolls, and the Committee to enquire what profit had been raised by the Tokens, and to whose hand the same had come<sup>r</sup>.

On the 14th of April Mr. Hill was ordered to make his report on the morrow<sup>s</sup>; but I do not find that any report was delivered in by him, at that, or any subsequent period.

By an Order of the House, which was dated upon the 12th of April, Mr. Playter was enjoined to make no more Farthing Tokens; and the Committee at Haberdashers Hall was appointed to take course, that Mr. James East should cause that the Farthing Tokens already made, and then in his custody, should be seized; together with all the tools, copper, &c. concerning the making the same. This having been done, in consequence of a warrant from the Committee, dated also on the 12th of April, it was ordered, upon the 17th of that month, that Mr. East should forthwith proceed in the making of Tokens, and the Monies which had been seized in

again put into the same Office by an Ordinance of Parliament, May 5th, 1643. [Folkes, p. 94.]

<sup>q</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Id. p. 25.

<sup>s</sup> Id. p. 45.

the said office were to be delivered over to him, on account, for the payment of the workmen's wages, and he was to give to the Committee a statement of the weekly profits <sup>t</sup>.

On the same day Playter was ordered to bring in all acquittances for Monies paid or received, since the beginning of July last past, to the Committee <sup>u</sup>; and on the 21st Mr. Harrington and Mr. Peter Hasard were added to Mr. East, to be Overseers of Accounts concerning the Office for Farthing Tokens<sup>x</sup>.

An Order was made, upon the 9th of May, that Mr. James Harrington, and Mr. William Harrington, Merchant, should be made Overseers of the Accounts of the Alnage, and the Farthing Office; together with the others formerly appointed: That the Monies arising and coming in from the profits of the Alnage and the Farthing Office, should be paid into the hands of Sir William Strickland, M.P. in the mean time, until Mr. James Harrington should receive a Commission from the Prince Elector Palatine, to enable him to receive the same; the same Monies to be employed for the use and benefit of the Prince Elector Palatine<sup>y</sup>.

Sir Robert Harley, upon the 20th of May, brought answer from the Lords that they did agree to the Ordinance concerning the trial of the Pix-Money; and that they had appointed three Lords of their House to meet with a proportionable number of the Commons to make the trial. Mr. Pym, Mr. Holles, Mr. Holland, Sir Thomas Soame, Mr. Greene, and Mr. Cage, were accordingly appointed a Committee

<sup>t</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 48.

<sup>u</sup> Id. p. 55.

<sup>x</sup> Id. Ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Id. p. 77.

to meet the Committee of the Lords, on Monday sevensnight<sup>2</sup>.

To relieve in some degree the distresses of his people in Ireland, his Majesty, in a letter dated from Oxford, on the 25th of May, stated to the Lords Justices and the Council in Dublin, that having taken into consideration, that by reason of the most barbarous and bloody rebellion in that Kingdom, his good subjects there were reduced to such extreme penury, that (as their last help and refuge) they were inforced, and desirous, to have such little plate as they had left them to be coined, for their relief, into some small pieces of Money, which might pass current in exchange both there and in England; and that the quantity of plate or bullion there so to be melted down and coined, was of so small and inconsiderable value, that it was not worth the charges of erecting a Mint there, according to his Majesty's former intentions, which would likewise take up more time than their present and pressing necessities would permit; his Majesty, therefore, was graciously pleased to empower the Lords Justices and Council to issue forth Commissions, under the Great Seal, to such persons as they should think fit, thereby authorizing them to melt down such plate, &c. into small pieces, of the value of five Shillings, Half Crowns, Twelvepences, Sixpences, or of any less value, to be made of the same weight, value, and allay as the Monies current in England, and to be stamped on the one side with the letters C. R. for Carolus Rex, with a crown over those letters, and on the other side with the value of the said

<sup>2</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. page 93.

pieces respectively ; and that the same, so stamped, should be delivered to the bringers of the plate, &c.

In compliance with this letter, a Commission was issued under the Great Seal of Ireland, dated the 7th of July, authorizing Sir John Veale, knt. Peter Vandenhoven, and Gilbert Tongues, goldsmiths, to melt such plate, &c. into small pieces, whereof an eighth part to be in Groats, Threepences, and Twopences, taking for the coining of every pound weight three Shillings ; every pound weight being three Pounds of sterling Money, according to the weight of the Tower of London.

On the 8th of the same month, a Proclamation was issued, reciting this Commission, and ordering the said Coins to be current in all payments, &c.<sup>a</sup> About one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds worth of Plate were then coined<sup>b</sup>.

A Petition of many of the inhabitants of London, Westminster, and Suburbs, &c. concerning the grievance of Farthing Tokens, was read in the House of Commons upon the 17th of June, and ordered to be referred to the Committee at Haberdashers' Hall, with the addition of the Knights and Burgesses of Middlesex, Surrey, London, and Westminster, as to that business<sup>c</sup>.

It should seem that the Parliament actually coined Money about this time ; for, on the 12th of July, the Committee for the Navy was ordered, by the Commons, to grant a warrant for the delivery of 30

<sup>a</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XLVII. See Specimens of these Coins, from the Five-shilling piece to the Penny, in Plate XXVH. No 8—15.

<sup>b</sup> Simon, page 47.

<sup>c</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 132.

chaldron of sea coals to the Master of the Mint, upon payment for them, for the furnaces to make the Money with; and likewise for 30 chaldrons more for the officers and dwellers in the Mint who belonged to the Mint, upon the like condition of payment<sup>d</sup>.

This Money, however, it is probable, was struck with the King's Dies, in order that it might circulate freely over the whole kingdom, equally amongst the friends of the King and of the Parliament; at least, thus much is certain, that none has hitherto been discovered of such a type as to distinguish itself from his Coins<sup>e</sup>.

On the 7th of August it was referred to the Committee, which was appointed on that day to examine the transportation of Gold, to enquire who were the printers of the tickets that day informed of, to be read in divers churches; in what churches they were read; by what ministers; and by what authority<sup>f</sup>.

The alarm which the foreign merchants had taken upon the seizure of the Bullion in the Mint was not yet entirely passed away, for information was given to the Parliament, from the persons concerned in the importation of Coin and Bullion, that their cor-

<sup>d</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p.164.

<sup>e</sup> Mr. Leake, (page 318,) fancied that he had discovered Shillings and Sixpences coined by the Parliament with the King's stamp, and known from his only by the letter (P), inserted as a Mint-mark. But this is probably a mistake, as the letter (R) is likewise found upon Coins of this reign.

<sup>f</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. page 196. I have not been able to discover what these Tickets were; but, from the nature of the Committee to whom the inquiry concerning them was intrusted, they should seem to have had some reference to Money.



respondents abroad had conceived many fears and jealousies which might discourage the usual importation. It was therefore declared and ordained, on the 25th of August, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that all Bullion and Coin, brought by any English shipping, should have free and safe passage and protection, both by sea and land, into the ports of Dover and London, and accordingly into and out of his Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London <sup>g</sup>.

A new Committee, as it should seem, was appointed, upon the 16th of December, to consider the Accounts of the Farthing Token Office, both of receipts and disbursements, to examine the abuse of importing counterfeit Farthings, and how it might be prevented; with power to receive propositions for the better making of Farthings, and preserving them from counterfeiting; and to consider how the said office might be employed to the advantage of the State, and of all things conducing to the better regulating the same. This business was particularly recommended to Mr. Hill <sup>h</sup>.

1643-4. On the 14th of February, by advice of the Members of both Houses, assembled at Oxford,

<sup>g</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. page 218. The Lords concurred on the 26th; but, on the 24th of February following, they sent to the Commons an Ordinance as above, with this addition, that the importers of Coin and Bullion should have free liberty to transport two-thirds of it, paying two *per cent.* for the same, as formerly; the other third to be brought to the Mint. To which the Commons agreed. [Com. Journals, vol. III. page 407.] The manner in which the King's Mint is mentioned in the Text, confirms the idea which has been before suggested, that the Parliament coined with the King's Dies.

<sup>h</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 343.

the King's Writ of Privy Seal was directed to Mr. Tilney, of Rotherwick, desiring £.200, or the value in Plate, touched at five Shillings, and untouched at four Shillings; to be repaid when God should enable him<sup>i</sup>. This fact, together with the very affecting clause with which it concludes, show the straits to which the King was at that time reduced.

1644. A trial of the Monies in the Pix in the Mint, in the Tower of London, was ordered, by the House of Commons, to be made on the 15th of July, at the usual place, near the Star Chamber<sup>k</sup>.

And on that day it was ordered that the Commissioners of the Great Seal, who were Members of that House, and the Committee of the Revenue, should join as a Committee with the Earl of Kent and Earl of Bolinbroke, for making that trial<sup>l</sup>.

A Petition against the Farthing Tokens, from the Lord Mayor, &c. in Common Council assembled, was presented to the House of Commons, and, on the 3d of August, referred to the consideration of the Committee of the House for the Farthing Token Office, with the addition of the Members for Westminster, the City of London, and Borough of Southwark<sup>m</sup>; and on the 7th the same Petition was referred to the Committee for the King's Revenue, &c.<sup>n</sup>

Another complaint of the citizens, and a petition of the poor, against the Tokens, (representing that there was no re-change for their Farthings, to their great damage, even to their utter undoing,) were taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the 6th of September.

<sup>i</sup> Rushworth's Hist. Collections, part III. vol. II. page 580.

<sup>k</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. page 555.

<sup>l</sup> Id. p. 561.

<sup>m</sup> Id. p. 578.

<sup>n</sup> Id. p. 582.

A Committee of Members was directed to acquaint the Common Council with the whole matter of debates by the House, and to desire them to give their opinion in what manner the inconvenience on all sides might be prevented, and the poor receive the best satisfaction °.

The Common Council returned an answer upon the 10th of that month, in which they stated, that they conceived it to be a thing of such consequence, that it was above them to present a remedy; for the inconvenience would be great if the Tokens were suddenly decried, and likewise great if they were to be continued; and they offered the following particulars for the consideration of the House:

1st. That the Patentees had formerly Proclamations for decrying of them, without rechange.

2dly. Tradesmen were more willing to . . . now decried than continued.

3dly. There were £.1500 in Farthings in the hands of the Patentees, which, if melted, would go a good way to satisfy the poor; besides the estates of the Patentees might contribute to the same. That the poor were in great straits, not knowing what to trust unto; and therefore, if the Tokens were decried, they desired that course might be taken for the Coinage of new Farthings, according to the intrinsic value; and that, in the Tower, Pennies, Twopences, and small Monies, might be coined P.

On the 14th of September, a Resolution for raising £.5000 for the exchange of Farthing Tokens, out of the estates of the Patentees, Actors, Agents, and Contrivers, was ordered to be communi-

° Commons Journals, vol. III. page 619.

P Id. p. 623.

cated to the Lord Mayor, who was required to call a Court of Aldermen to consider how that sum might be raised, and put in effect the best way for redress and relief of the poor within the Cities of London and Westminster, and Lines of Communication, and to stop the clamour raised by the poor upon the rumour of degrading Farthing Tokens, and to prevent the inconveniences which would ensue thereupon, if speedy remedy were not applied.

On the 11th of October it was ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that all the plate, both of Silver and of Silver gilt, belonging to the King, and then remaining in the Tower of London or elsewhere, should be delivered unto William Bell, esq. by weight, to be sold, pawned, melted down, and converted into Coin. But on the 15th of the same month, the Lords desired a conference upon that subject; at which they declared, that they could not consent to pass the Ordinance, because that plate was antient plate, the fashion of which, and the badges upon it, were of more worth than the plate itself. That the particular affection set upon it would make it of ill consequence, if it should be disposed of, though necessity be the motive thereunto. Besides that it did look too much like the Queen's pawning and selling the jewels of the Crown. Also the Parliament had expressed affection to the King, and to take care of his children; and that it would be somewhat incongruous to sell his plate, which that Ordinance requires.

The good sense and delicacy of this reasoning had no effect upon the Commons, who resolved, that the

*Commons Journal, vol. III. p. 627. Id. p. 659.*

House did adhere to the former vote concerning the disposal of the King's plate, and directed the Committee for the three associated Counties, [Berks, Bucks, and Oxon,] to prepare reasons to be offered at a conference, in confirmation thereof.

It was also resolved, that Sir Henry Mildmay, *knt.* Master of the Jewel-House, be ordered, and enjoined, to deliver so much of the King's plate to the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall as should amount to £.3000, as a security for that sum borrowed by Parliament; and, in case the Committee should not be satisfied the £.3000 within a month, then to be liberty to melt the same<sup>s</sup>.

It seems that about this time the<sup>t</sup> women took some part in the representations which were made respecting the grievance of Farthing Tokens, for, on the 26th of this month, it was ordered that the Serjeant at Arms should be appointed a servant to take the names of the women that came to the House about the business of Farthing Tokens, their places of abode, and their desires<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 665. This Plate was ordered to be melted down on the 16th of November following. [Commons Journals, vol. III. page 698.]

<sup>t</sup> Commons Journals, vol. III. p. 678. The abuses, and the loss to the subject, by these Farthing Tokens, are thus stated in a Pamphlet which was published in the course of this year:

In order to circulate them in large quantities, the Patentees allowed one Shilling over in twenty to those who came to buy them. This was enticing to many covetous wretches, who made a practice to fetch them daily, and force them upon all sorts of persons whom they had any dealings withal, and so press five, ten, yea twenty Shillings at a time away: So that, in a short time, not only the City of London was mightily pestered with them, but also the whole Kingdom, and especially the adjacent

1644-5. On the 27th of January it was ordered, that the Report in Mr. Whitlock's hand, concern-

Counties of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, which were so burdened with them, that in many places there was almost no Silver or Gold Coin left, but all were Farthing Tokens.

These the Patentees received, from those who brought them, at the same rate as they had issued them, which obliged the victualler, baker, &c. to sell the dearer to make up the loss of one Shilling in twenty.

But when the Farthings were counterfeited, and "began to come in more than went out, the Patentees did not like it; but a remedy was soon devised, and that was, that none were theirs but double-ringed Farthings, and so would take in none but double-rings; a pretty device to draw their necks out of the collar, for very few Tokens were found with double rings; most did prove single rings, and none of theirs: who could prove the contrary? And so upon a sudden all Farthings, both double and single rings (only a few excepted) were left upon the subjects' hands; to the ruin of many poor women, who got their living by selling fruit, herbs, fish, &c. and had all their stock in Farthings, some six, eight, ten, to twenty Shillings. This poor Stock did maintain them and their children; but upon a sudden this was all lost, to their utter undoing. [These were, probably, the women mentioned above as having applied to the House of Commons for relief.] Tradesmen of a higher degree, in many places, had at that time ten, twenty, forty, yea some had sixty Pounds worth of Tokens in their hands, and almost all proved clear loss, for the tenth part did not prove double rings. It was conceived that, at that time, there was no less than the value of  $\text{£}100,000$  in Farthings dispersed throughout the whole Kingdom, and that was all lost (the Copper excepted), and no remedy could be had against the Farthing Makers, who, in conscience, equity, and justice, were obliged to take them again. This was the lamentable issue of making Farthing Tokens for the good of the subject.

But these pretenders, who do all for the good of the subject, would by no means forsake that excessive profit, but contrived another sort of Tokens, that none should be able to counterfeit, as they pretended; and that was, with a little yellow spot in the Copper; a good mark to know their own, but a

ing the Moneyers, should be delivered over to Mr.

better mark to make another cheat of £100,000 more upon the poor subject; but all for their good, as is pretended. This hath gone on certain years; but at first, because that great loss did lie so heavy upon many, and so fresh in the memory of all, they could not vent so many as they expected. In the mean time, this new sitting Parliament began, and presently all Patents were put down, because they were illegal, and pressing to the subject. But (to the great admiration of many) this, so illegal and pressing a Patent, did stand upright in its full power. When they perceived they were not questioned, they went on cheerfully, and began to use several means to vent their Tokens, and, amongst other devices, they used many poor women, as their factors, to go about the City and Suburbs, and all other places where any resort of people was, and there would, by intreaty and importunate begging, get and persuade many to change them six Pence in Tokens for Silver, which of late hath dispersed an infinite quantity of Tokens; by which means they are become so plenty, that every retailing tradesman is so pestered therewith; that almost half of what they receive is Farthing Tokens; and all adjacent Counties are become so full of them, nay more than ever they were before; so that of necessity these Tokens must go down again, which will prove a greater loss than those formerly, except the authority of this Honourable Parliament doth compel the Token-Makers to attend at their office, with ready money, to take in and exchange to the subject all their Tokens for good current Money, as in conscience and equity the Token-Makers ought to do, or else it will prove a very great loss to the subject."

As a remedy for these mischiefs, the author of the Pamphlet proposed, that Farthings should be made either of Copper, or of some metal mixed with Copper, so much in value as might be worth a Farthing. [A Remedy against the loss of the Subject by Farthing Tokens, 4to, London, 1644.] In opposition to the statements in this Pamphlet, were published, "The humble Petition and Remonstrance of some hundreds of Retaylers, who have sparkes of Charity and Reason in them; and of Country Chap-men in the associated Counties, and of thousands of poore people besides, for the restoring of Farthing Tokens, who are



Hills, to be reported on the following Saturday.<sup>x</sup> The Report, however, was not then made, nor have I been able to discover whether it were ever brought forward, nor what its purport and intention were.

At this time considerable quantities of foreign Coins were current in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and generally all the West Country. These Coins were, through ignorance, taken much above their value, as divers sorts of Rix Dollars, two Pence a-piece worse than the right Rix Dollars; Spanish Money, called Pieces of Eight, which went at four Shillings and four Pence (the value of the right sort, or Seville Coin,) although very many of them were light; and a sort of Coin which was much worse than the Seville Coin, at least four Pence a-piece; of all which no notice was taken by the subject. There was also a multitude of French Sous, each of which was current at a Penny, though worth little more than three Farthings.<sup>x</sup>

It does not appear, however, that these Coins were circulated at any distance from the coast, and it is probable they were brought into the maritime Counties above-mentioned by persons engaged in clandestine traffick with the Continent.

On the 4th of November, in this year, the Tokens were extremely damaged, and are like to perish by the suppression of them.<sup>u</sup> Addressed to both the High and Honourable Houses of Parliament, 1664. Printed in the year 1644. I know not whether the above were ever presented or not. The reason which the Petitioners assign for the opposition to the Tokens circulated by the Patentees, is the wish of the opposers to create a necessity for the currency of their own private Tokens.

<sup>u</sup> Commons Journals, vol. IV. p. 31.

<sup>x</sup> Remedy, against the Loss of the Subject by Earthing Tokens, p. 6.



Lords sent to the Commons an Order that the trial of the Monies in the Pix, in the Mint of the Tower of London, should be made on the Monday following, [the 10th,] at the usual place near the Star-Chamber. This was agreed to by the Commons, and the same persons were appointed as above on the 15th of July, 1644.<sup>a</sup>

The anxiety of the Commons to possess themselves of every thing belonging to the Mint, appears to have been greatly excited about this time; for, on the 14th of July, they ordered that it be referred to Sir Robert Harley, Mr. Myles Corbet, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Lawrence Whittaker, to examine and search the trunks lately come from Oxford; wherein, they were informed, were many instruments, and other materials and things, belonging to the Mint, or fit to be made use of in the Coinage of Money, and to seize all such instruments and materials, and report them to the House, to be disposed of as they should think fit.<sup>b</sup>

The two Houses also paid particular attention to the purity of the Coins, and for that purpose appointed frequent trials of the Money in the Pix. But little more than fourteen months had elapsed since the last trial, in November 1645, yet on the 1st of February, 1646-7, the Lords desired the concurrence of the Commons in the appointment of a fresh examination.<sup>c</sup> To this they agreed, and it was fixed for the 13th of that month, in the same manner as the preceding instance.<sup>d</sup>

1647. Several Ordinances were likewise made in the course of this year respecting the Coins.

<sup>a</sup> Commons Journals, vol. IV. p. 332. <sup>b</sup> Id. p. 617.

<sup>c</sup> Commons Journals, vol. V. p. 69.

<sup>d</sup> Id. p. 73.

On the 29th of March, the Lords sent to the Commons an Ordinance for the discovery of the clippers and falsifiers of the Money, to which they desired their concurrence<sup>a</sup>. The Commons ordered that it should be read on the Thursday after the 23d of April<sup>d</sup>. It was not, however, read on that day, but on the 18th of May, together with another which inhibited the payment or receipt of any clipped Monies of the Kingdom; and they were ordered to be read the second time upon the Friday next following<sup>e</sup>.

No proceedings appear upon that day; but upon the 18th of August the whole business concerning clipped and falsified Money was referred to the Committee of Revenue, which was to report, upon the next Thursday, their opinions to the House, what they thought fit to be done for the remedy of such abuses; and the Members for Lancashire, and the Northern Counties, were to be conferred and advised with in the business<sup>f</sup>.

The Report of the Committee was received on the 26th of the same month, upon which the House debated, and then ordered, that the business should be referred back to the Committee of Revenue, and the Committee appointed for the declaration concerning the Excise, which were to be joined as to that business<sup>g</sup>.

At this time the Parliament appears to have been much distressed for want of Money, and a Declaration was ordered to be prepared by a Committee, on the 1st of September, for the security of such Merchants as should bring in any Bullion to the Tower;

<sup>c</sup> Com. Journals, vol. V, p. 128.

<sup>d</sup> Id. p. 154.

<sup>e</sup> Id. p. 175.

<sup>f</sup> Id. p. 276.

<sup>g</sup> Id. p. 284.

and the Committee was directed to confer with Spanish Merchants, and others, as it should think fit.

The Ordinance to prohibit the currency of Money diminished by clipping or filing, was published by the Lords and Commons, after several amendments had been made in the latter House, upon the 6th of September. It ordered that such Money should, in future, be esteemed as Bullion, and no otherwise. But to the end that those Monies which were by the Ordinance declared to be uncurrent, should not immediately become unuseful to those who lived in remote parts of the Kingdom, and could not sell them but at under-rates, it was ordained, that for three months from the date of the Ordinance, the said clipped Money should be allowed of in payment, at four Shillings and ten Pence *per* ounce for Goldsmiths' or troy weight, or four Shillings and four Pence Halfpenny the ounce avoirdupois. And all persons were to take notice, that such clipped Money would yield in London four Shillings and eleven Pence *per* ounce of Goldsmiths' weight, and four Shillings and five Pence Halfpenny *per* ounce for avoirdupois weight, at the least. It was, however, not intended that any old Monies, which were apparent not to be clipt, or otherwise unlawfully diminished, but only grown light through wearing and wasting, by long passing from hand to hand, should be included within the Order, but they were still to be current, without dispute as formerly.

<sup>h</sup> Commons Journals, vol. V. p. 287. The Committee of the Navy was, at the same time, ordered to make a Report to the House of some effectual course to prevent the transportation of Bullion. <sup>i</sup> Scobell's Acts and Ordinances, 1647, cap. 91.

At the same time it was ordered by the Commons that the Committee of Revenue should call before them the Master and Warden of the Mint, and other the Moniers of the Tower of London, and take effectual course for the round and regular making and coining of all Monies that were then, or should be coined there. This was agreed to by the Lords upon the same day.

1647-8. On the 11th of January, the Treasurers of Ireland were directed to take especial care, that the Monies which they received for Ireland were current, and not clipped nor filed<sup>m</sup>.

The House resumed, upon the 23d of March, the consideration of the great abuse of clipped and false Money in the Kingdom, notwithstanding the Ordinance against it; and ordered that, on Thursday morning following, the House should proceed in debate of the business, and how it might be suppressed for the future.

1648. The House did not proceed upon that day, but it appears that, some short time previous to the 22d of September, a Commission was issued, under the Seal of His Majesty's Exchequer, unto Edward Watkins, esq. and others, Commissioners for discovery of transporters of Coin and Bullion, and of cutlers of the weightiest Coins for the purpose of melting down, and of clippers or washers of Coin; but it was afterwards found necessary, for the discovery of great and more subtle offenders in such matters, to indemnify those who had been in some sort guilty of the like offences, from the penalties

<sup>m</sup> Commons Journals, vol. V. p. 292. Id. p. 293.

<sup>n</sup> Rushworth's Historical Collections, part IV. vol. II. p. 963. Id. p. 1035.

which upon their confessions, they would be liable unto. The Commissioners were therefore authorized, with the approbation of the Attorney or Solicitor General, to grant a certificate to all persons who should make discovery of such offences, the virtue of which the Barons of the Exchequer should discharge them from all penalties to be imposed upon them, for so much as they should have confessed, as should have concerned themselves, and no more.

To this the concurrence of the Lords was desired, and was accordingly signified, upon the following day.

At the latter end of this year, the Parliament was in such want of Money, that General Lord Fairfax gave orders to Colonel Dean to seize the publick Treasuries of Goldsmiths, Weavers, and Haberdashers Halls, to be applied to the payment of the arrears due to the army.

At some time in this reign, the Earl of Glamorgan had power granted to him to erect a Mint any where in Ireland, but I have not found that he ever availed himself of that power.

1648-9. The life of the unfortunate Charles terminated on the 30th of January in this year.

It is highly creditable to the King, that, in all his difficulties, he never debased his Coins. Had he done so, the Parliament would not have failed to

<sup>o</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Id. p. 29.

<sup>q</sup> A Letter of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax to the Lord Mayor of the City of London, 1648. The Letter is dated Dec. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Letter of the Marquis of Worcester (late Earl of Glamorgan) to the Earl of Clarendon, June 11, 1660. [Clarendon's State Papers.]

state the existence of such Money, in their Ordinances of the 6th of September, 1647.; but he preserved the standard inviolate, even when, from necessity, the workmanship of some of his Coins was so rude, as to justify the suspicion that the Dies were sunk by a common blacksmith †.

The style which he used upon his English Coins differed only in the name from that which his father adopted, after he assumed the title of King of Great Britain, except in the following instances, where a Halfpenny reads CAROLUS REX ‡, and a Twopenny-piece CAR. D. G. ANG. SCO. FR. ET HIB. REX. ¶

On his first Seal his Father's style was continued, but on his second the words MAGNÆ. BRITANNIÆ appear instead of ANGLIÆ. SCOTIÆ x.

The various mottos which, upon the Reverses of King James's Money alluded, to the Union of the two Kingdoms, were almost entirely omitted on these Coins, although they occur frequently upon those which he struck in Scotland.

Instead of them we find : CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO. JUSTITIA THRONUM FIRMAT. AUSPICIIS REX MAGNETUIS. ARCHETYPUS MONETÆ ARGENTÆ [Argenteæ] ANGLIÆ. SALUS REIPUBLICÆ SUPREMA LEX. FLOREBIT IN ÆVUM. FIDEI DEFENSOR. EXURGAT DEUS DISSIPENTUR INIMICI; and in two, or sometimes three, lines across the middle of the area, RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR. y FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA. CULTORES SUI DEUS PROTEGIT. AMOR PO-

§ See Silver Coins, Plate XXVI. No 5.

† Silver Coins, Plate XX. No 6.

¶ Id. Plate XXII. No 14.

x Sandford.

y One piece, with the motto CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO, has this legend across the area. See Suppl. part II. Plate V. No 14.

**POM PRÆMIUM REGIS**, and another, the only one on an English Coin, allusive to the Union, **REGIT UNUS UTROQUE**.

One singular Half Crown reads on the Obverse, **O REX DA FACILEM CURSUM**, and on the Reverse, **ATQUE AUDACIBUS ANNUE CAPTIS**<sup>a</sup>.

His style upon some of the Coins struck in Scotland is the same as the English; upon others it runs, **CAR. D. G. SCOT. ANG. FR. ET HIB. R.**

The mottos upon the Reverse are, **QUÆ DEUS CONJUNXIT NEMO SEPARET. CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO. SALUS REIPUB. SUPREMA LEX. JUSTITIA THRONUM FIRMAT. HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA JACOBUS. HIS PRÆSUM UT PROSIM. UNITA TUEAMUR**.

No Coins were struck in this reign for the particular use of Ireland, except those which were rudely stamped of the plate which was brought in to supply the necessities of Government in the years 1642 and 1643<sup>a</sup>.

The great variety of his Money will be best understood by a view of the plates, and by the description which is given of them.

Besides the regular Pieces, which were of a size and value well known as the currency of the Kingdom, there were also others of irregular form and value, which the immediate want of Money obliged the King to coin at various times. These are called Siege-pieces, or Money of Necessity; and were either Coins of larger size than had ever been used before, as the twenty and ten-shilling Pieces of Silver<sup>b</sup>, or rude masses of plate, clipped off, and

<sup>a</sup> Plate XXII. No 2.

<sup>a</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XXVII.

<sup>b</sup> Silver Coins, Plate XXIII. Nos 1, 2, 3, and 4.

stamped with some hastily-formed device, and even retaining, in certain instances, the mouldings of the salvers from which they were cut. Some of these Pieces are stamped with the name of the Castle wherein they were struck, but there are various others which only bear an imperfect representation of the place, which, in consequence, still remains unknown. Several representations of this species of Money are given in Plates XXVII. XXVIII. and XXIX. of the Silver Coins, in Supplement, Plate VI. and in Supplement Part II. The Gold Coins of this sort are but few. Specimens of them may be seen in Plate XIII. N<sup>o</sup> 9. XIV. N<sup>o</sup> 3. and Supplement, Part II.

The frequent removals of the King, to various parts of his Dominion, obliged him to establish several Mints; and the necessities of those who espoused his cause, and were confined to the limits of the Castle which they defended for him, and where they were, in course, prevented from receiving any supplies from him, were the occasion of many more. They were situated at

ABERYSTWITH. EDINBURGH. PONTEFRAC.

CARLISLE. EXETER. MASCARBOROUGH.

CHESTER. LONDON. SHREWSBURY.

COLCHESTER. NEWARK. WORCESTER.

CORK. OXFORD. YORK.

DUBLIN.

And at various other Castles whose names are unknown.



## THE COMMONWEALTH.

1648-9: Although the two Houses of Parliament did, (as we have already seen,) in the course of their dispute with the King, take upon them, for the maintenance of their power, to regulate the Coins then in currency, by their own authority, and to receive Plate and Bullion, yet they never presumed to coin Money during his life without his image and superscription <sup>c</sup>. But soon after his death, the House of Commons first voted, on the 6th of February, that the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished; and then proceeded on the next day to resolve that the Kingly Office was unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and publick interest of the Nation, and therefore ought to be abolished. Bills for those purposes were ordered to be prepared by a Committee<sup>d</sup>, and were soon afterward declared to be Statutes by the authority of that Parliament <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> It is remarkable, that whenever they have occasion to speak of the Mint, during that period, they invariably call it the King's Mint. Leake, as it has been before observed, supposed that he had discovered some of the Coins which were struck by the Parliament with the King's Dies, from the circumstance of their being marked with the letter *p* in a circle [page 308 and 349]; but this is probably a mistake, as the letter *x* is found in the same manner.

<sup>d</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. XVIII. pp. 553, 554.

<sup>e</sup> The Act by which the Kingly Office was abolished, passed upon the 17th of March, and that by which the House of Peers was taken away, on the 19th of the same month. [See Scobell's Collection of Acts, 1649, cap. 16 and 17.]

Having thus established themselves as the ruling power, they soon began to exercise the prerogatives of Sovereignty, and accordingly appointed (by an Order dated on the 13th of the same month) Money to be coined with their style and authority, out of the Gold and Silver which had been seized in the King's Household or Treasury, all which was carried to the Mint in the Tower of London, according to directions from the Parliament and Council of State, to the amount of many thousand Pounds<sup>f</sup>.

On the second of March a Petition was presented to the House from the Lord General Fairfax and his Council of War, the fourth article of which was — abuses of clipt Money to be redressed<sup>g</sup>.

In consequence of that article, the House, upon the same day, referred to a Committee to consider and examine the abuses concerning clipt Money, and any practice used by any persons in buying the same at an undervalue, and putting it off at the full value. The Committee was further directed to peruse the former Ordinance touching clipt Money, to consider wherein the same was defective, to propound to the House some remedy for the said abuses, and to bring in an Act for that purpose upon the next Wednesday.

A proposal that the Collectors in the several Counties should not receive any clipt Money, and that, in case they did, they should make it good, which was moved at the same time, was negatived<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. XIX, p. 53.

<sup>h</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 154.

The above-mentioned Act was not brought up on the appointed day, the House being then chiefly occupied with the Acts for taking away Kingship, and for abolishing the House of Peers, and with the Declaration to satisfy the Kingdom touching the grounds of their late proceedings<sup>i</sup>.

Interest of Money, which had long been at eight *per cent.* was, on the 12th of that month, reduced to six *per cent.* The alteration to take place from the 29th of September next following<sup>k</sup>.

1649. On the 14th of April, the Parliament referred to the Council of State to consider a Paper presented to the House concerning the coining of Gold, brought in a ship lately come from Guiny, for the better advancing of trade: and the Governor, or some other of the Guiny Company, was required to attend for that purpose.

At the same time it was referred to a Committee, to consider of and peruse the Statutes touching the sale or transportation of Gold and Silver, and other laws concerning Coinage and Treasure, and to bring in a Bill for the forfeitures to be converted to the use of the Commonwealth.

Colonel Temple's Propositions for preventing exportation of Gold, or other Coin, and the business of melting down the Coin, were ordered to be referred to the consideration of the Council of State; to take some effectual course for preventing the abuse therein, and the damage that might come to the Commonwealth thereby.

<sup>i</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI, p. 158.

<sup>k</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. XLX. p. 57. But see under August 8, 1651.

The Committee touching the Stamps for Coin was required to meet forthwith, and to make a Report on the Monday following<sup>1</sup>; and on the 17th the Attorney General was required to bring in a Bill for the Stamps of Coin on Saturday morning<sup>m</sup>.

But this seems to have been rather premature; for it appears that the Committee did not make a Report until the 18th, and that the consideration thereof was then referred to the Council of State, who were to advise with the Committee, and to report thereupon<sup>n</sup>.

They accordingly reported, upon the 25th of the same month, the form of several stamps for Coins, with the inscriptions. When the House resolved, that the inscriptions to be put upon the Coin of England should be written in the English tongue.

That on the one side, on which the English arms should stand alone, should be this inscription, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND; and on the other side, which should bear the arms of England and Ireland, GOD WITH US<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 186. I do not find any Bill for the appropriation of the forfeitures as mentioned above.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, page 188.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, page 189.

<sup>o</sup> These Coins were the subject of standing jokes with the Cavaliers. The double shield on the Reverse was called the Breeches for the Rump\*: and from the legend they took occasion to observe, that God and the Commonwealth were on dif-

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\* The numbers of the Long Parliament having been, by exclusion, death, &c. very much reduced, the remainder was compared to the rump of a fowl which was left, all the rest being eaten. [Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, page 363, note by the Editor.] Lord Lucas, in his Speech in the House of Peers in 1670-71, spoke of the Parliament Money called Breeches, and stiled it a fit Stamp for the Coin of the Rump. [Speech, 4to, Middleburg, 1673.] A great deal of wit upon this subject may be seen in Hudibras, Part III. Canto 3, line 1506.

That the like impresses and inscriptions should be made upon all Coin in Crown Gold and Silver, *mutatis mutandis*.

And Thomas Symon was appointed to be sole chief engraver to the Mints and Seals.

It was also ordered, that it be referred to the Council of State, according to the above resolutions, to perfect the business touching the several sorts of Coin in Crown Gold and Silver.

That Mr. Attorney General be required to bring in the Indentures, and an Act for establishing the form of Coin, to-morrow morning.

That it be referred to the Committee of the Revenue to give order for payment of such Monies as should be ordered by the Council of State, for making such stamps for Coins, and such number of

ferent sides. Fuller says, "the Mint was of date much employed to coin the Plate of our Nation, to make State Money, whence one said —

*Cæsar's effigies nulla est, sed imaginis experts,*

*Crux duplex super est dira, gemensque Lyra.*

And another:

May their success like to their Coin appear,

Send double crosses for their single cheer,

Sure I am their Coin goeth under a general suspicion of being as bad as their cause. But I hope hereafter, when the question is asked of our Coiners, Whose image and superscription is this, it will be returned, The *Cæsars* of England." [History of the Worthies of England, London, p. 193.]

The device on these Coins is thus ridiculed in a Prologue spoken in Bury School in the year 1731.

"A Silver pair of Breeches neatly wrought,

(Such as you see upon an old Ramp Broat,

Which our good grandsires chose, to boast

To all the world, the tail was uppermost.)"

Gent. Mag. 1731, p. 537.

them as the said Council should appoint, and to take care that the same be paid accordingly.

On the following day it was referred to the Council of State to consider of the Indenture touching the Mint, and to present to the House a Master of the Mint <sup>p</sup>.

The latter provision became necessary on account of Sir Robert Harley's refusal to "stamp any Coin with any other stamp than formerly." <sup>q</sup>

A report was brought up from the Council of State, on the 10th of May, which stated that they had considered the Indentures, and had filled up the blanks concerning the kinds of the Coins; and that they presented to the House Sir John Wollaston, as a fit person for Master Worker of the Mint.

It was ordered by the House, that it be referred back to the Council of State to call Sir Robert Harley before them; and to consider of the whole business, and what might be fit to be done therein, and to report it to the House on the morrow <sup>r</sup>.

This Report was delayed until the 16th of that month, when the Council of State laid before the

<sup>p</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 195.

<sup>q</sup> Folkes, page 94. It is not easy to assign motives for this refusal. Sir Robert Harley was Master of the Mint for the King from 1626 to 1636, and accepted an appointment to the same office from the Parliament in 1643, from which time he continued to coin with the King's dies, but for the benefit of the Parliament, until the refusal which is recorded above. Is it possible that he should have considered the mere alteration of the stamp as a matter of importance, and should have overlooked the weightier offence against the royal prerogative, which he had committed by receiving, and acting under, a parliamentary appointment?

<sup>r</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 206.

House a letter from Sir Robert Harley, in which he declined further meddling with the making of Money for the present. On that letter being read, it was ordered, that Sir Robert Harley be discharged from the office of the Mint for Gold and Silver Coin; and that a trial of the Pix be made at his charge.

The Council of State again recommended Sir John Wollaston as a fit person to be Master Worker of Gold and Silver Coin in the Tower of London and Commonwealth. But notwithstanding this repeated recommendation, it was ordered that Dr. Guerdain be Master Worker of the Mint, in the room of Sir Robert Harley.

It was further ordered, that it be referred to the Council of State, to perfect the whole business of the Mint, and touching the Indentures to be made to Dr. Guerdain, in such sort as were formerly made to Sir Robert Harley; and to perfect the schedule of Officers in the Mint, and the forms of the Coins to be made; and to prepare an Act for confirmation of the Coin, and also to consider of a salary to be allowed to Dr. Gardine, for executing the office of Master of the Mint; and to report their opinion therein to the House<sup>s</sup>.

On the 21st of the same month the House agreed with the Council of State that £.400 *per annum* should be allowed to Dr. Geurdain<sup>t</sup>, for his salary as Master of the Mint<sup>u</sup>.

The Act touching Monies and Coins of England,

<sup>s</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 210.

<sup>t</sup> I have retained the various spellings of this name as they appear upon the Journals. They will be found to differ materially from each other in the compass of a few lines.

<sup>u</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 212.

was reported, and read the first and second time upon the 6th of July, and then committed to the Committee of the Mint, as was likewise the Act declaring it high treason to counterfeit, clip, &c. the Money and Coin of England \*.

At the same time Mr. Attorney-General reported, from the Council of State, fees and diet of the Officers and Ministers of the Mint to be borne by the Keepers of the Liberty of England, by authority of Parliament, and to be paid by the Warden, in manner and form hereafter expressed, and until the Parliament of England should otherwise ordain.

	£.	s.	d.
John St. John, Warden, by the year	100	0	0
Walter Grime, Warden's Clerk - -	20	0	0
Henry Cogan, Comptroller - - -	66	13	4
Peter Fenton, his Clerk - - - -	13	6	8
Andrew Palmer, Thomas Woodward,			
Assay Masters - - - - -	66	13	4
Their Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
— Bingley, — Beale, Auditors	40	0	0
And to each for his Clerk £.10 and to			
each for parchment, ink, paper, and other			
necessaries, £.10 <i>per annum</i> .			
Anthony Knivet, Tellers [only one			
name mentioned] - - - - -	33	6	8
Their Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0
Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons -	13	6	8
Surveyor of the Melting House - -	26	13	4
His Clerk - - - - -	10	0	0

\* This never became a separate Statute, but it forms a part of the 44th chapter of an Act of this year, 1649, by which it was declared, "What offences shall be adjudged treason." See it under July 17th.



	£.	s.	d.
Tho. Symons, Graver of the Irons -	30	0	0
John Reynolds, Under Assayer -	40	0	0
John East, Under Graver - - -	40	0	0
Daniel Brattle, Sinkers of the Irons			
[only one name mentioned] - - -	20	0	0
— Hodgins, Smith - - -	10	0	0
John Dendy, Porter - - -	10	0	0
— Vening, Parson of the Chapel in			
the Tower, for his tythes - - -	0	13	4
— Symson, Sexton of the same Cha-			
pel, by the year - - -	0	4	4
For the diet of the Officers - - -	52	0	0
James Howard, John Reinolds, Clerks,			
to be employed for the keeping of books,			
and other services by directions of the			
Officers, to each <i>£.20 per annum</i> - -	40	0	0

No more to be allowed to the said diet but such as shall be admitted by the Warden, Master, and Comptroller of the Mint; and their names to be set down in writing within one month after the sealing of these presents; and the residue of the charges for and about the making of the Monies, and for all other fees, are, from time to time, to be paid and borne by the Master and Worker of the Monies, upon account, according to the tenor and true meaning of the Indenture<sup>y</sup> hereunto annexed.

The House approved of the several allowances, and also of the several persons, above named, to be in the several places and offices above-said.

And it was then ordered, that it be referred to the Council of State, to consider of the claim of the

<sup>y</sup> The Indenture does not appear.

several persons above named, and every of them, in and to the places aforesaid. And in case there should be any held by antient patents, that they should give order for the renewing of them : And that their order should be a warrant to Mr. Attorney General, to prepare such patents to be granted : And that the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal should be authorized and required to pass such patent in common form, under the Great Seal of England, unto such persons accordingly : And that the Council of State should take order that such of the said persons as they should find requisite to put in security for the due execution of their places, should put in security accordingly.

In consequence of an Order from the Council of State for a warrant to the Attorney-General [Edmond Prideaux, Esq.] to prepare a Bill containing a grant of the Office of Master of the Mint to Aaron Geurdain, it was ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth should prepare a Bill, containing a grant of the office of Master Worker of the Monies of England within the Tower of London, and elsewhere in England, unto Aaron Geurdain, Doctor of Physick ; together with all mansions and buildings, profits and pre-eminences, to the said office belonging, as amply as Sir Robert Harley, or any other heretofore, held the same ; to hold and execute the said office by himself, or his sufficient deputy, for whom he should answer, until the Parliament of England should otherwise ordain, according to the form of an Indenture made between the Keepers of the Liberty of England, by authority of Parliament, and the said Master Worker, to bear

date with the grant of the said office, touching the business of the Mint. Which said Indenture having been perfected by the Council of State, to which it was referred by the Parliament to be made perfect, was likewise to be, together with the grant of the said office, prepared in usual form by the said Attorney-General; and after the *Recepimus* thereunto made by the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal, and the counterpart thereof signed and sealed by the said Master Worker, was, with the schedule thereunto annexed, containing the several officers of the Mint, and their several fees and allowances, to be forthwith passed under the said Great Seal, as likewise the grant of the said office: For doing whereof that order was to be, as well to the said Attorney-General, as to the said Lords Commissioners, a sufficient warrant<sup>a</sup>.

On the 10th of July the Attorney-General reported the amendments to the Act touching Coin, with a table containing the weights of the several Coins of England, which were twice read, and re-committed, with the amendments at the table, and the Attorney-General was to take care to bring it in on Thursday morning<sup>a</sup>.

On the 17th of the same month the above Act was passed<sup>b</sup>. Its preamble states (in imitation of the Proclamations of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I.) that, whereas the ordering of Monies and Coins, and setting the same at such valuations and prices as shall be thought convenient and necessary, is appropriate and of right belonging to the Sovereign and

<sup>a</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 251.

<sup>a</sup> Id. p. 258.

<sup>b</sup> Commons Journals, p. 262.

supreme authority of this Commonwealth ; and the Parliament having resolved to change and alter the former stamps, arms, pictures, with the mottoes, words, stiles, and inscriptions in and about the same, and to cause new Coins of Gold and Silver to be made of several stamps, weights, and values, but of one uniform standard and allay, to be current within the State and Commonwealth of England, (that is to say) one piece of Gold of the value of twenty Shillings sterling, to be called the Twenty Shillings Piece, stamped on the one side with a cross, and a palm and laurel, with these words, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND ; and on the other side with the cross and harp, with these words, GOD WITH US. One other piece of Gold Money of ten Shillings, to be called the Ten Shillings Piece ; and one other piece of Gold Money of five Shillings, to be called the Five Shillings Piece ; with the same words, inscriptions, pictures, and arms, on each side, as the former. And for Silver Monies, pieces of five Shillings, and pieces of two Shillings and six Pence, of twelve Pence, and six Pence, having the same words, inscriptions, pictures, and arms, on each side, as the former ; also pieces of two Pence, and one Penny, having the same pictures and arms as the former, without any words or inscriptions ; and the Halfpenny, having on the one side a cross, and on the other side a harp. All which several Coins of Gold and Silver, the Parliament doth hereby enact, declare, publish, and authorize, to be amongst others, heretofore used, the Monies current for this State and Commonwealth of England, to be used and received by all the people of this nation, in all receipts and payments, and in all manner of traffick-

ing, bargaining, and dealing, between man and man, at the several rates and values contained in the schedule or table hereunto annexed, expressing their true values and weights, according to the account of the Mint within the Tower of London.

	Pennyweights <sup>20.</sup>	Grains..... <sup>24.</sup>	Mites..... <sup>20.</sup>	Droits..... <sup>24.</sup>	Perits..... <sup>20.</sup>	Blanks..... <sup>24.</sup>
Pieces of Gold. { <sup>xxs.</sup>	5	20	10	0	0	0
{ <sup>xs.</sup>	2	22	5	0	0	0
{ <sup>vs.</sup>	1	11	2	12	0	0

Pieces of Silver. { <sup>vs.</sup>	19	8	10	8	0	0
{ <sup>iis. vid.</sup>	9	16	5	4	0	0
{ <sup>xñd.</sup>	3	20	18	1	10	0
{ <sup>vid.</sup>	1	22	9	0	15	0
{ <sup>iid.</sup>	0	15	9	16	5	0
{ <sup>id.</sup>	0	7	14	20	2	12
{ <sup>ob.</sup>	0	3	17	10	1	6

**Memorandum.** Twelve ounces make a pound weight troy, twenty pennyweights an ounce, twenty-four grains a pennyweight, twenty mites a grain, twenty-four droits a mite, twenty perits a droit, twenty-four blanks a perit.

<sup>c</sup> Statute 1649, chap. 43. Scobell's Acts. These Coins were struck of the several dates from 1649 to 1656, and also of 1658 and 1660, so that they were never entirely discontinued until the Restoration. [Folkes, p. 95].

Upon the same day another Act was passed to declare what offences should be adjudged treason, in which it was enacted, that if any person should counterfeit the Money of the Commonwealth, or should bring any false Money into the land, counterfeit or other, like to the Money of the Commonwealth, knowing the Money to be false, to merchandize or make payment, in deceit of the people of the Nation; or if any person should hereafter falsely forge and counterfeit any such kind of Coin of Gold or Silver as was not the proper Coin of the Commonwealth, but current within the realm by the consent of Parliament, or such as by them should be authorized thereunto, or should bring from the parts beyond the seas into the Commonwealth, or into any the Dominions of the same, any such false and counterfeit Coin or Money, knowing the same to be false and counterfeit, to the intent to utter or make payment with the same within the Commonwealth; or if any person should impair, diminish, falsify, clip, wash, round or file, scale or lighten, for wicked lucre or gain's sake, any the proper Monies or Coins of the Commonwealth, or the Dominions thereof, or of the Monies or Coins of any other realm, allowed and suffered to be current within the Commonwealth, or the Dominions thereof; that then all and every such offences should be deemed and adjudged high treason, and the offenders therein, their counsellors, procurers, aiders and abettors, being convicted, according to the Laws of the Nation, of any of the said offences, should be deemed and adjudged traitors against the Commonwealth, and suffer such pains of death and forfeitures as in

case of high treason, excepting corruption of blood or loss of dower<sup>d</sup>.

On the same day it was ordered to be referred to the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal of England, and the Committee of the Revenue, to give order, and appoint a day, for trial of the Pix, and for returning a Jury for that purpose; and likewise to give order that the Jury should prepare a standard of the several Coins, according to the table at that time established<sup>e</sup>.

July 24th, the Attorney General reported an Oath, to be taken by the Master Worker of the Mint, in these words, *viz.* You shall swear, that you shall bear yourself well and convenable, to your utmost power, towards the Keepers of the Liberty of England and the people, in your office of Master and Worker of the Mint of the Monies of this Commonwealth, So help you God. This oath was assented to by the House; and it was ordered that it be referred to the Committee of the Revenue, to approve of the security to be given by the Master Worker of the Mint, and to give direction how and in what manner the same should be given<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Scobell's Acts 1649, chap. 44. The authors of the Parliamentary History say, that this act is an exact, literal, copy of another passed, under the same title, the 14th of May in the same year, with the addition only of the paragraph relating to the Coins; and yet that no reference is made in the one act to the other, nor any reason assigned for re-enacting into a law, what had received that sanction only two months before. [Vol. XIX. p. 156.] The Statute of the 14th of May is not in Scobell's Collection, but it is enumerated, by him, in "A Table of Ordinances and Acts formerly printed, but are neither printed nor abbreviated in this book."

<sup>e</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 260.

<sup>f</sup> Id. p. 268.

The Council of State ordered, upon the 18th of August, that a Committee should be appointed to take into their consideration the business of the Coin, and the par between this and other nations; and that there be care taken that the Coin of this nation may be kept from carrying away; and to consider of some means how the Mint may be set to work. In pursuance of this last order the draught of an Act of Parliament against transporters of Gold and Silver was finished; twice read in the House &.

From this time the attention of the House seems to have been diverted from the affairs of the Mint until the 10th of October, when the Council of State desired that the House would declare its pleasure what should be done with those who were Officers in the Mint, by patent from the late King, and who had been called before a Committee of the Council for the renewing of their patents, but had refused either to deliver up their old patents, or to take out new ones.

The House accordingly resolved that such Officers who had or should so refuse should be forthwith displaced and discharged from executing the said places and offices respectively, and removed out of their respective habitations belonging to them, and to their several respective places and offices; and that the Council of State should be authorized, and have power, to call in all such old grants and patents, and to displace such persons as had or should so refuse, and to place other fit persons in their rooms. And that the said Council should give war-

& Violet's proposals to Oliver Cromwell, p. 109. See under the year 1653.



tant to Mr. Attorney General to prepare patents to such persons, for such places and offices, quamdiu se bene gesserint, which should be a sufficient warrant in that behalf; and the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England were authorized and required to pass the said several patents under the Great Seal accordingly <sup>h</sup>.

Oct. 11. It was resolved, by the House, that all the Officers of the Mint should subscribe the engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same was then established, without a King, or House of Lords<sup>i</sup>.

Nov. 7. An Act for Trial of the Pix was read, and, after some amendments, passed. At the same time it was ordered, that it be referred to the Council of State to consider of the standard for the Coins of the Commonwealth, and to present their opinions to the House<sup>k</sup>.

Nov. 9. It was ordered, that the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and others of the Commissioners for Trial of the Pix Money, and the Jury empaneled for that purpose, should be authorized and empowered to proceed in trial of the said Monies, by that part of the Standard which remained in the Exchequer, with that which remained in Goldsmiths Hall. And that it be referred to the Commissioners for Trial of the Pix Money to give order that the Standards for the Coins of the Commonwealth be new made of the same alloy with the former, and present the same to the House to be approved of<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 305.

<sup>i</sup> Id. p. 306.

<sup>k</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 320. This Act is not in Scobell's Collection.

<sup>l</sup> Id. p. 321.

Nov. 16. An Act was reported from the Council of State, empowering the said Council to administer an oath unto the Jury, for the making of two standard pieces of Gold and Silver, to be approved of by the House. The oath was as followeth, *viz.*

You shall swear that, according to your best skill and judgements, you shall make two standard trial pieces, the one piece in Gold, commixed in proportion of twenty-two carats of fine Gold and two carats of allay in the pound weight troy of England, of such quantity as in your discretions you shall think fit, for the making of four standard trial pieces of the Commonwealth's Money of Gold, to be made in England, and one piece of Silver, commixed in proportion of eleven ounces two pennyweights of fine Silver, and eighteen pennyweights of Copper in the pound weight troy of England, of such quantity as in your discretions you shall think fit, for the making of the standard trial pieces of the Commonwealth's Monies of Silver, to be made in England. The said standard pieces to be indented and printed according to the pleasure of the Parliament, declared in the present Indentures, between the Keepers of the Liberty of England, by authority of Parliament, and Aaron Guardon<sup>m</sup>, Master Worker of the said Monies.

The Act was then read, and, upon the question, passed<sup>n</sup>.

Dec. 20th. Lord Commissioner Whitelock reported from the Council of State, that in pursuance of the Order of Parliament, of the 16th of November, for the making of standard pieces of Gold and

<sup>m</sup> This is another various spelling of that person's name.

<sup>n</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 323.

Silver, a Jury of Goldsmiths appeared before the Council, and were sworn for the making thereof; *viz.*

Sir John Wollaston, Knight and Alderman.

Thomas Viner, Alderman.

Thomas Noell, Alderman.

Francis Ash.

Thomas Smithies.

Francis Hall.

George Courthop.

John Perryn.

Richard Morrell.

Samuel Moore.

George Snell.

Richard Gibbes.

Matthew Mason.

Alexander Jackson. .

That upon the 22d of November they presented their verdict, as followeth, subscribed by them; and therewith two standards, one of Gold, and one other of Silver, indented and marked, divided into four parts; whereof one part was delivered to the Master Worker of the Mint, one to the Warden, one to the Wardens of the Company of Goldsmiths, and one remained to be delivered into the Exchequer.

The Verdict of the Jury for making of two indented standard pieces of Gold and Silver:

We, whose names are hereunder written, have, according to our best skill and judgement, made two standard trial pieces; *viz.* the one in Gold, commixed in proportion of twenty-two carats of fine Gold, and two carats of allay, in the pound weight troy of England, weighing two and twenty ounces, fifteen pennyweights, six grains, divided into four

indented pieces; and the other of Silver, commixed in proportion of eleven ounces two pennyweights of fine Silver, and eighteen pennyweights of allay in the pound weight troy of England, weighing two and eighty ounces, eighteen pennyweights, twelve grains, divided in like sort into four indented pieces; for the trial of the Commonwealth's Monies of Gold and Silver, to be made in England; both which standard pieces, so divided, indented, and printed, we present unto the Right Honourable Council of State, appointed by authority of Parliament, according to our oaths in that behalf taken before your Lordships.

The House, by a Resolution, then approved of the above standards, and also of the delivery of the four several parts, according as had formerly been used.

It was then ordered, that the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal should be required and authorized to issue forth Writs for proclaiming the Act touching the Monies and Coins of England<sup>o</sup>.

A Copper Coinage for the use of the poor seems to have been projected at this time, for patterns of such exist, some of them dated 1649, and others 1651 P; but it is not known whether the design was ever carried into effect.

It is remarkable that those with the date 1651 have the image and superscription of Cromwell, as Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland<sup>q</sup>, although he was not publicly invested with that title until the 16th of December 1653. If therefore

<sup>o</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 335.

P See Silver Coins, Plate XXXI. Nos 13, 14, and 15, and Plate XXXII. No 10.

q See Plate XXXII. No 10.

there be no mistake in the above date of 1651, his assumption of the Protectorship must have been determined upon some time before it was actually effected.

The Council of State and Commons in Parliament, having had it represented to them, that the Coins of the Government might be more perfectly and beautifully done, and made equal to any Coins in Europe, proposed to send to France for an artist there, who had invented and improved a machine, and method, to make all Coins, by a screw press, and mill, with the most beautiful polish, and equality, on the edge, or any proper inscription, or graining, which might denote the time of coining, or prevent the falsifying of Coins, or from being clipt (as usually) and counterfeited; for this purpose they resolved to send for the person proposed to be employed in that service for the State<sup>r</sup>.

The Council of State, therefore, ordered, on the 8th of August, to send for Peter Blondeau, from Paris, to come to London, to treat with him, upon the price and expense of coining Money after his new invention. He arrived at London on the 3d of September; but though a Committee of the Mint was appointed by the Council of State to examine his way of coining, and a very favourable report was made respecting it, yet so powerful was the opposi-

<sup>r</sup> Simon's Medals, &c. by Vertue, [p. 17,] who refers to Violet's Mysteries and Secrets of Trade, and the Mint. Nothing, however, to the purpose occurs in that work. Blondeau made a statement, in 1651, similar to that above, in his "Representation touching several disorders happening by Money ill-favouredly coined," which may be seen in the Answer of the Moniers, published by Violet in 1653.

tion of the Moniers, that a considerable time elapsed before he could proceed <sup>s</sup>.

1650. On the 4th of April an Act against transportation of Coin or Bullion was read a first time; and, on the 22d of August following, amendments were reported, which were twice read, and the Bill re-committed <sup>t</sup>.

No further proceedings appear upon the Journals, nor is the Statute to be found in Scobell's Collections.

1650-1. Some Merchant strangers declared their willingness to reassume the trade of bringing Bullion and Plate, in English shipping, from Spain (which might much tend to the increase of Coin and Trade) provided that an Act of Declaration of Parliament, according to the tenor of that made in February 1643, should be again set forth.

Accordingly a Bill was brought into the House on the 8th of January, and passed the next day <sup>u</sup>.

It enacted that all Bullion or foreign Coin that should be brought into the Ports of Dover or London, or into any other Port or Ports of the land, should have the like free and safe passage and protection, both by sea and land, as in any time or times here-

<sup>s</sup> Blondeau was at last permitted to execute some proof pieces <sup>\*</sup>; in opposition to which the Moniers produced from the hand of David Ramage, one of their Company, other proof pieces <sup>†</sup>; and exhibited against Blondeau a charge of treason for coining in a private house. Their continued opposition at length succeeded in driving him out of the Kingdom. A full account of this contest may be seen in the Answer of the Corporation of Moniers to Blondeau. Lond. 1653, fol.

<sup>t</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. pp. 392 and 458.

<sup>u</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VI. p. 521.

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<sup>\*</sup> See Blondeau's pattern pieces, Silver Coins, Plate XXXI. Nos. 2, 5, and 7. <sup>†</sup> See Ramage's pattern pieces, Plate XXXII. Nos. 2 and 3.

tofore ; and that no seizure or detention from the State should, upon any pretence whatsoever, be laid upon the same or any part thereof, in whose hand soever the same should be consigned or entrusted, either stranger or native ; and that two third parts of the said Bullion or foreign Coin so brought into the realm, might be exported, on paying custom one per cent. and carrying the other third part to the Tower of London, there to be coined in the Mint<sup>x</sup>.

1651. On the 8th of August an Act was passed to lower the interest of Money from eight per cent. to six, because, as it was stated in the preamble, there was then a very great abatement in the value of land, and other the merchandize, wares, and commodities, of the Commonwealth, both at home, and also in foreign parts, whither they were transported. The forfeiture for taking higher interest than that prescribed by the Act, was the treble value of the Money, &c. advanced<sup>y</sup>.

As no Money was coined, by authority of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, for the use of Ireland, it became so scarce in that Kingdom that

<sup>x</sup> Scobell's Acts, 1650, chap. 41.

<sup>y</sup> Id. 1651, chap. 13. The fall in the value of land is thought by the Authors of the Parliamentary History to have been occasioned by the quantity brought into the market by the sale of the Revenues of Bishops, &c. and of delinquents' estates, [vol. XX. p. 40.] but they take no notice of the decreased value of merchandize, &c. which is stated in the Act.

It is remarkable that this Act does not refer to the lowering of interest from 8 to 6 per cent. which, according to the authors of the Parliamentary History, was ordained upon the 19th of March 1648, to take place from the 29th of September following. It is therefore probable that these authors were mistaken in what they asserted.

divers persons in Dublin, and other places, in order to supply the want of small change, coined Copper Tokens, with their name and place of abode stamped upon them, whereby they obliged themselves to make them good<sup>a</sup>. And it appears from a letter addressed by the Council in Dublin to the Council of State in England, dated upon the 19th of November, that this scarcity had greatly encouraged the counterfeiting Gold and other English Coins, and of sending over from England great sums of counterfeit, base, and clipped Money. This, had been for some time practised, and several persons were then imprisoned, in Dublin, on that account; whose names, together with those of their confederates in London, had been sent over to the Council of State<sup>a</sup>.

These counterfeit Coins consisted not only of English Money, but also of base Peru pieces, and, together with the clipped Coins, were, by the agents of people in London, imposed upon the Merchants in Ireland; for which villainy some of the guilty were taken and executed<sup>b</sup>.

1651-2. On the 14th of January leave was granted by the Parliament, to the East India Company, to export £.25,000 in foreign Coin and Bullion<sup>c</sup>.

1652. In the month of August Commissioners

<sup>a</sup> Simon's Irish Coins, page 49. They were of Brass or Copper, not broader, but thinner than our present Farthings, and passed like so many promissory notes, for one penny each, in the neighbourhood, and amongst the customers of those who issued them.

<sup>a</sup> Id. Appendix, No XLIX.

<sup>b</sup> Id. p. 50.

<sup>c</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VII. p. 71.



were appointed for ordering the affairs of Ireland. The 12th article of whose instructions was — You are to cause to be put into execution, effectually, all laws now in force against counterfeiting, clipping, washing, or debasing the Coin, and are empowered to put forth Proclamations, as you shall think fit, for suppressing thereof<sup>d</sup>.

The currency in Ireland was at this time in such a state that in the month of October or November the Council of Dublin found it necessary to put out a Declaration for the regulation of foreign Coin, and to prohibit the passing of English Money, in payment, above its intrinsic value, which they declared to be five Shillings per ounce troy weight. By reason whereof their payments had been at a great stand for want of a Mint, and they accordingly wrote to the Council of State for a power therein, upon the 4th of December, representing, that the passing of clipped English Money current in pay in Ireland, and the uncertain rates that foreign Money went at, had necessitated them to publish the before-mentioned Declaration, foreseeing that the longer it was delayed the more the service and interest of the Commonwealth would suffer. They stated also, that unless power were given to Coin the clipped Money in Ireland (which was wanting in their instructions) the evil would again grow upon them (the good English Money being carried back into England,) and in a short time no Money would be left in Ireland but foreign Coins, and those either light or coarse Peru.

They therefore humbly desired (if their Lordships

<sup>d</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 95.

should conceive fit) that power might be speedily sent to them for the stamping or coining of twenty thousand Pounds, or such other quantity as their Lordships should judge to be for their service <sup>e</sup>.

In this year there was Silver Money coined in New England (but of no other date than Mr. Folkes had ever seen <sup>f</sup>) in Shillings, halves, and quarters, with pieces of two Pennies and one Penny <sup>g</sup>. All which had on one side the American pine, with MASSACHUSETTS IN. and on the Reverse NEW ENGLAND. AN. DOM. round about, with the date 1652, and the value XII. VI. &c. in the area <sup>h</sup>.

These were coined by virtue of an Act made by the General Court, consisting of the Governor, As-

<sup>e</sup> Simon's Irish Coins, Appendix, No XLIX.

<sup>f</sup> A Twopence with the date 1662 is in Plate XXX. of the Silver Coins, No 13. It is also represented in Plate XIV. of the fourth part of Lord Pembroke's Coins; but the date is supposed to be taken from one of 1652, with an imperfect 5.

<sup>g</sup> These two pieces are not mentioned in the following Act by which this Coinage was ordained, and it is suspected that they were not genuine.

<sup>h</sup> Folkes, page 98. See Specimens of these Coins in Plate XXX. Nos 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14. And also of another kind, which is stamped with the parable of the good Samaritan, No 10. "As a mark of sovereignty they coin Money, stamped with this inscription Mattachusetts, with a tree in the centre on the one side, and New England, with the year 1652, and the value of the piece, on the Reverse. All the Money is stamped with these figures 1652, that year being the æra of the Commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent Colonies under their obedience, and summoned deputies to sit in the general court, which year is still commemorated on their Coin." [Collection of original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1769. The above account is by Edward Randolph. See Hollis's Memoirs, page 397.]

sistants, and Deputies, in 1652, by which it was ordered that a Mint House should be erected at Boston, and that the Master of the said Mint, and all the officers thereof, should be sworn and allowed by the Court, or by such as should be authorized by the Court for that purpose. And that all persons whatsoever should have liberty to bring into the said Mint, all Bullion, plate, or Spanish Coin, there to be melted, and brought to alloy of sterling Money, by the Master of the said Mint, and his sworn Officers from time to time, by him or them to be coined into twelve Penny, six Penny, and three Penny pieces<sup>1</sup>, to be stamped with a double ring on either side with this inscription MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the centre on the one side, NEW ENGLAND with the year of our Lord, and the figure XII. VI. III. according to the value of the piece, on the other side, together with a privy mark, to be appointed every three months by the Governor, and known only to him, and the sworn Officers of the Mint.

And the Master of the Mint was required to coin all the said Money of good Silver, of the just alloy of new sterling English Money, and for value two Pence in the Shilling of lesser value than the English Coin at that time, and the lesser pieces proportionably.

And it was ordered, that the aforesaid Coins, and no other, except English, should be acknowledged to be the current Money of that Commonwealth, and to pass from man to man in all payments accordingly within that jurisdiction; and that the Mint Master, for himself and Officers, for their pains

<sup>1</sup> No smaller pieces are mentioned in this Act.

and labour in melting, refining, and coining, was allowed by the Court to take one Shilling out of every twenty Shillings, which he should stamp as aforesaid, and that it should be in the liberty of any person who should bring into the Mint House any Bullion, plate, or Spanish Coin, to be present and see the same melted, refined, and alloyed, and then to take a receipt of the Master of the Mint for the weight of that which should be good Silver alloyed as aforesaid, for which the Mint Master should deliver to him the like weight, in current Money; viz. every Shilling to weigh three Pence troy weight, and lesser pieces proportionably, deducting allowance for coinage as before expressed.

And it was further ordered, that a Committee should be chosen by the Court to appoint a Mint House, in some convenient place in Boston, and to approve and swear the Master, and all the Officers, and to order and determine what might further appear necessary to carry the order into effect <sup>k</sup>.

Although the whole of these provisions seem to have been made in a manner entirely independent of the Mother Country, yet no notice appears to have been taken of this invasion of the regal prerogative, by the Parliament, nor even during the usurpation of Cromwell, who was, on many occasions, sufficiently jealous of such encroachments. Indeed there is no evidence that it ever attracted the attention of Government, unless a ridiculous story which is recorded in the Memoirs of Hollis should be admitted

<sup>k</sup> "The Book of the general Laws and Liberties concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, by Edward Rawson. Cambridge," folio, 1660, article Money. In the year 1654 an Act was passed forbidding the exportation of this Money.

as a proof. It is there related that Charles the Second, after the Restoration, expressed to Sir Thomas Temple great wrath against the colony in the Massachusetts, and said that they had invaded his prerogative by coining Money. Sir Thomas told his Majesty, that the Colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make Money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the Money out of his pocket and presented it to the King. On one side of the Coin was a pine-tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. The King asked what tree that was? Sir Thomas informed him it was the Royal Oak, which preserved his Majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the King into good humour, and disposed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to say in their favour, calling them a parcel of honest dogs<sup>l</sup>. Hutchinson, however, says that Charles II. refused to permit the Colony to continue this coinage<sup>m</sup>.

Those Coins also which are stamped with N. E. only near the edge on the one side, and with the figures XII or VI, in like manner, on the other, and commonly reported to have been struck at Newcastle, it is said were, as well as the last, Monies of New England, and of about the same date with them<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Memoirs of Hollis, p. 397. The story is contained in a letter from Dr. Elliott. His Majesty's eyesight must have been weak indeed if he could not distinguish the tree upon the Coins from an oak.

<sup>m</sup> Vol. I. p. 178, as quoted by Snelling, in his View of the Coins struck in the West India Colonies, p. 36.

<sup>n</sup> Folkes, p. 98. See Plate XXX. Nos 4 and 5.

If the account which the historian of that Colony has given of this Money be correct, these Coins might have been placed immediately before those which precede them in this History. He says, "the trade of the Province increasing, especially with the West Indies, where the Buccaneers or Pirates at this time were numerous, and part of the wealth which they took from the Spaniards, as well as what was produced by the trade, being brought to New England, in Bullion, it was thought necessary, for preventing fraud in Money, to erect a Mint for coining Shillings, Sixpences, and Threepences, with no other impression at first than N. E. on the one side, and XII, VI, or III on the other; but in October 1651 the Court ordered that all pieces of Money should have a double ring with this inscription, MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the centre on one side, and NEW ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side." °

But I know not what dependance can be placed on this statement, for the particulars which he has given of the second Coinage are inaccurate,

° Hutchinson's History of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, vol. I. p. 177. In a note he says, that the Court became sensible that Hull, the Mint Master, had too advantageous a contract, and offered him a sum of Money to release them from it, which he refused. He left a large personal estate, and one of the best real estates in the Country. Samuel Sewall, who married his only daughter, received with her, as was commonly reported, thirty thousand Pounds in New England Shillings. He was the son of a poor woman, but dutiful to and tender of his mother, which Mr. Wilson, his minister, observing, pronounced that God would bless him, and although he was then poor yet he should raise a great estate. The three Pence spoken of above has never been discovered.

and even contradictory to the public act of the Court.

About this time also Lord Baltimore, Lord Proprietor of Maryland, coined there very handsome Shillings, Half Shillings, and Groats; all having his own head bare, and in profile, with the legend CAECILIUS D'NS TERRAE MARIAE & C. T. on the one side, and his arms <sup>p</sup> under the Crown of his Palatinate, with the value of XII, VI, or IV, and the motto CRESCITE ET MULTIPLICAMINI, on the Reverse <sup>q</sup>.

He also struck some Copper Money for the use of that Province. The Penny, which is all that has yet been discovered of that metal, is exactly similar to the Silver Coins in the Obverse, but on the Reverse it has his crest [two flags erected on a ducal coronet] with this inscription, DENARIUM TERRAE MARIAE <sup>r</sup>. Mr. Folkes has not assigned any reason for the date which he has given to these Coins. It is possible that they were struck at an earlier period, as Cecil succeeded to the title nearly twenty years before that time.

I have not been able to discover any grant to this nobleman of the privilege to coin Money in express terms, but presume that he exercised it by virtue of general words in the Charter which granted the Province of Maryland to him and to his heirs on the

<sup>p</sup> One Shilling has the arms of his wife, a cross botony, quartered on the Reverse. This Coin, which is supposed to be unique, was in the possession of the late Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart.

<sup>q</sup> Folkes, p. 98. See Specimens of these Coins, Plate XXX. Nos 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>r</sup> This unique Coin is in the cabinet of James Bindley, Esq. who has kindly permitted it to be engraven for this Work. See Supplement, Part II.

20th of June 1632. By that instrument he was to enjoy it with *omnia jura regalia*, in as full and ample manner as they had been heretofore enjoyed by the Bishops of Durham. Now as those prelates did formerly possess the privilege of a Mint, it should seem that his Lordship availed himself of the general grant of regal rights, and as the power of Coinage was not particularly excepted, exercised that together with the rest<sup>s</sup>.

All these American Coins want better than two Pennies in a Shilling of the weight of the English, which adds to the probability that the blanks above spoken of [i. e. those marked with N. E.] were stamped rather in New England, than at Newcastle<sup>t</sup>.

1653. On the 12th of April the Bill against transporting Gold and Silver, which had been twice read in the year 1649, was called for again, and appointed to be finished; but other mighty business (says Violet) did intervene<sup>u</sup>.

On the 15th of July the Council of Ireland addressed the Committee for Irish affairs in England,

<sup>s</sup> The words of the charter are, "Cum om'ibz & singulis hu'ioi ac adeo amplis juribz iurisdicc'oibz privileg. prerogatiuis, regalitatibz tam p'mare q'm p' terram infra regionem, &c. p'dict', h'end. exercend. utend. & gaudend. p'ut aliquis Ep'us Dunelmens. inf' Ep'atum siue Comitatus Palatin. Dunelm. in regno n'ro Angl' unq'm antehac h'uit, tenuit, vel gavis' fuit, seu de iure h'ere, tenere, uti, vel gaudere debuit aut potuit." He was to pay to the King a fifth part of the Gold and Silver Ore found within the Province. [Pat. 8 C. I. part 3. No 5.]

<sup>t</sup> Folkes, page 98.

<sup>u</sup> Violet's Proposal to Oliver Cromwell, p. 109. The mighty business alluded to by Violet, was the dissolution of the Parliament, by Cromwell, upon the 20th of that month.



stating to them, that they had, some few months before, represented to the Council the pressing necessity for a Mint to be appointed in Ireland; that this was transmitted to the Parliament, who had been pleased to make an order for the Coinage of one hundred thousand Pounds in that Kingdom, and referred it back to the Council of State for settling it; in the progress and debate of which some difficulties occurred about sending persons over out of England for it<sup>x</sup>; and nothing being yet determined, the corruption and debasement of the Coins still continued to increase. To prevent which they urged the speedy erection of a Mint in Dublin<sup>y</sup>.

In the month of August, the Commissioners from Scotland proposed to the House, amongst other things, that the Mint in Scotland might be set up, as the only remedy against the extreme scarcity of Money there<sup>z</sup>.

It is probable that the Keepers of the Liberty of England did not take any steps with respect to these Mints. Indeed the government had been for some time virtually in the hands of Cromwell, and on the 16th of December was publickly surrendered to him.

The Coins which were struck by the authority of the Parliament have been already described as to their type and inscription; they occur of all the intermediate dates from 1649 to 1660 inclusive<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> They allude here to an expedient proposed in lieu of this, but do not mention what it was. This proposal is said to be inclosed, but is not given by Simon.

<sup>y</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XLIX.

<sup>z</sup> Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 209.

<sup>a</sup> The Great Seal of the Commonwealth was inscribed THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND 1651. IN THE THIRD YEAR OF

Besides the current Money of Gold and Silver, pattern pieces were executed by Blondeau and Ramage, representations of which may be seen in Plate XXXI. Nos 3, 5, and 7; and Plate XXXII. Nos 1, 2, and 3.

There were also patterns for Farthings, both in Pewter and Copper, but they were never put into circulation.\* See Plate XXXI. Nos 12, 13, 14, and 15.

It does not appear that they coined in any other Mint than that in the Tower of London.

### OLIVER CROMWELL,

1653. was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, upon the 16th of December, and from thenceforward publicly exercised that authority which had for some time been entirely under his direction and guidance<sup>b</sup>.

**FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED 1651.** Whitelock says that the device, and more particularly the inscriptions on the seal, were the fancy of Mr. Henry Martin. [Parl. Hist. XVIII. p. 502.] The same inscription appears upon a fragment of the first Great Seal with the date 1648, except that the word *first* is used in the place of *third*. [Vertue's Works of Simon, Plate II.] It was also placed on the rim of one of Blondeau's pattern Coins. See explanation of Plate XXXI. n. 2.

<sup>b</sup> A modern writer dates the virtual government of Cromwell at a very early period. "At the time of the breaking off the negotiation with the King in the Isle of Wight [i. e. A. D. 1648] the army having ceased to be the servants had become the masters of the Parliament, and being entirely influenced by Cromwell, gave a commencement to what may, properly speaking, be called a new reign. The subsequent measures, therefore, the execution of the King, as well as others, are not to be considered as acts of the Parliament, but of Cromwell. [Fox's History of the early part of the reign of James II. Introductory Chapter, p. 12.]

— "above it." In a previous Paper of the same title,

\* In *Severall Proceedings of State Aff.* :  
*fares 2s to*  
*27 April 1654.*  
*Num. 239. be*  
*read under*  
*April 26 :*  
*'This night*  
*are come out*  
*new Farthings,*  
*beighing a*  
*quarter of*  
*an ounce*  
*fine Pewter,*  
*which is but*  
*the price of*  
*his pewter,*  
*that so the*  
*people may*  
*never hereaf:*  
*ter fear to*  
*loose much*  
*by them;*

with the *Star* on one side, and a *Griffin* on the other, with

1653-4. The first act of his government relating to the Coins, was the publishing of an ordinance to declare what offences should be adjudged high treason. This was set forth upon the 19th of January<sup>c</sup>, and that part which respects the Money nearly in the same terms as the Act of 1649, chapter the 44th.

The representations which the Council of Ireland made to the Committee for Irish affairs in England in July 1653, having proved ineffectual, the Council addressed the Lord Protector on the 16th of February by letter, inclosing that which they had written to the said Committee, and stating that the stock of the Country (in Money) was conceived to be detrimented, by falsifying, above one third part; there being scarcely any Coin left but foreign, and that for the most part coarse Peru pieces; six hundred and thirty-five Pounds of which, at the current rate of four Shillings and Sixpence each piece, were found, by an exact assay, to yield only four hundred and one Pounds in sterling Money.

They likewise represented, that much of the foreign Money was counterfeit, and that, unless some speedy course were taken to call in all base foreign Money, and reduce it into English Coin, there would be in a short time no Money left to pay the forces, or for necessary exchange amongst the people, but counterfeit and bad Money; and consequently the affairs of Ireland would unavoidably fall into disorder: all which they conceived it their duty to represent to his Highness, to do therein as in his prudence should be thought fit<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> See Government of the Commonwealth of England, &c. folio, London, 1653, p. 59.

<sup>d</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LI.

*9 to 16 March 1653, we read "It is uncertain also what will be done about Farthing Tokens."*

The necessity for the erection of a Mint in Dublin was also strongly enforced by General Fleetwood, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated upon the same day with the former. He represented the Coins as exceedingly debased and corrupted, and that the Country would be ruined, if not timely prevented. He therefore entreated the Secretary's special assistance in procuring them a Mint, according to the letter to the Lord Protector from the Commissioners in Dublin<sup>e</sup>.

1656. All these Petitions, however, were without effect; for notwithstanding that, in this year, the Council again renewed their statements to the Lord Deputy, and to the Protector himself, no Mint was erected, nor does it appear that any Money was coined for the particular service of Ireland<sup>f</sup>.

In this year the Protector adventured to coin Money with his own head and style; but there is no proof that he ever published it as the current Money of England<sup>g</sup>. The pieces were eminently beautiful, being the work of Thomas Symon, who was appointed Chief Engraver of the Mint, and Medal Maker, by Patent dated on the 9th of July, by whom they were coined with the greatest care and exactness by the mill and screw<sup>h</sup>.

Mr. Folkes supposes that but little of it was struck, because the chief of what he had seen was

<sup>e</sup> Thurloe's State Papers, vol. II. p. 94.

<sup>f</sup> Simon, Appendix, Nos L. and LI.

<sup>g</sup> Folkes, page 98.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, page 100. Vertue's Works of Simon, page 67. See Specimens, Silver Coins, Plate XXXII. Nos 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8; and Gold Coins, Plate XIV. No 7, and Supplement, Plate VI. No 26.

*The Public  
Intelligence  
Oct. 22 to 29  
1655 has an  
Advertizement  
concerning one  
Abraham Stapley  
lay a coiner.  
"This Abraham  
Stapley is a  
false coiner  
of Money, for  
in his House  
at Detford  
were found  
several false  
coining Iron  
for half  
crowns and  
false half  
crowns, coi-  
ned with the  
date 1655  
and this is*

*to give notice  
to all persons  
whosoever  
that shall*

*receive any of the said Money of Stapleys, dated 1655.  
there being none of that date in his Highness Mint coined  
to this Day the 26<sup>th</sup> of October."*

too well preserved to have passed in common circulation; and also because by far the greater number of the Crown Pieces which had come to hand, had a particular crack across the neck; from which he infers, that those which were struck with that particular broken Die, bore a very considerable proportion to the whole number that was minted of them. Besides, he adds, it is very doubtful whether all that we have of the Half-Crowns have not proceeded from only two or three individual Dies<sup>i</sup>.

*The flaw varies in extent in different specimens. H.C.*

Mr. Pinkerton, on the contrary, says that many of the Twenty-shillings pieces, and of the Shillings, are so much worn as to have almost lost all impression; and states, as a corroborating circumstance to show that the Protector's Money was generally current, that he has in his possession a forged Shilling of Oliver<sup>k</sup>, evidently intended for circulation, and not for the Connoisseur; which, he says, affords a strong proof of their abundant currency: and that one or two others have likewise fallen in his way. The larger pieces, he observes, were more likely to be hoarded<sup>l</sup>.

*worn Shillings of Cromwell are certainly very often seen at the present time in the hands of the coin-dealers. It seems to have been forgotten that the circulation of Cromwell's own coins with his effigies was but of short duration. The universal return of loyalty at the Restoration rendered the currency of Cromwell's coins so unpopular, that it was unnecessary for any proclamation against them to be issued.*

Mr. Noble accounts for the scarcity of this Money, with the date 1656, by an anecdote which he received from the late Earl of Liverpool to this purport: "In that year Oliver coined some Silver

<sup>i</sup> Folkes, page 101, note \*.

<sup>k</sup> Yet in another place he ridicules Mr. Leake for supposing that the want of the flaw in the neck on the Crown piece was a sign of forgery: "As if," he exclaims, "Coins of Simon were to be counterfeited!" [Essay on Medals, vol. II. p. 137.] This mistake of Leake's is omitted in the second edition of his work, which is quoted by Pinkerton in a note at the bottom of the preceding page.

<sup>l</sup> Essay on Medals, vol. II. page 138, note.

1656 April 1  
A notorious  
Coyner dis-  
covered and  
apprehended  
in Rose and  
Cromwell Court  
in Grays-Inn  
Lane. His  
name Perkins.  
Addit. MS.  
Brit. Mus.  
11302.

Money for circulation, but finding that the people preferred that with the Commonwealth type, he coined very little of the latter sort in the years 1657 and 1658; endeavouring by this mean, to bring the Money with his effigies into circulation: and to save a new Die, that of 1656 was altered to serve for 1658, by cutting deeper the space between the shield and the inscription, and also between the letters, so that it raised the letters and figures so much, that the figure 6 might easily be altered to 8, and the whole legend appear still more bold and conspicuous. This scheme answered in part the end he intended; his Coins of 1656 are far the most scarce, and much better preserved: though the latter could not be expected to be current after the Restoration.”<sup>m</sup>

The greater quan-  
tity of the coins  
in circulation  
was of the Com-  
monwealth money.  
The issue of  
Cromwell's mo-  
ney could not  
have been  
large, and on  
that account  
was probably

After all, it appears certain that the Coins of Cromwell were never the current Money of the Kingdom; because they were not enumerated in the Proclamation of September 7, 1661, which forbade the currency of the Coins with the stamp of the Commonwealth; for they who scrupled not to offer indignities to the body of the dead Lion, would not have suffered his Coins to have passed unnoticed, had they been in circulation. It is therefore probable that he was prevented from uttering them, by the same considerations which deterred him from taking the title of King.

This idea is in a great measure confirmed by a trial of the Pix which took place upon the 3d of

This idea is in a great measure confirmed by a trial of the Pix which took place upon the 3d of

Life of Cromwell, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 309, note. I have given the above curious information in the words of the Author, and with all the authority which he produces for it, and shall leave my readers to form the best judgment they may be able upon its authenticity.

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Proclamation  
of Sept. 7. 1661

December, 1657, of the Monies coined in the Tower of London from the year 1649, all of which were the Commonwealth Coins only <sup>n</sup>.

But whatever might be the cause which induced him to alter his intention, there can be but little doubt that he at one time was determined to issue his Coins for general circulation. It will not, otherwise, be easy to account for his taking the opinion of his Council upon the form and inscription of them, which he did on the 27th of November in this year.

Upon that day it was ordered, at the Council at Whitehall, that the stamps and superscriptions, prepared by Mr. Thomas Symon, for the Coins of Gold and Silver pieces, according to his new invention<sup>o</sup>, as also the mottos of OLIVARIUS D. G. R. PUB. ANG. SCO. ET. HIB. PRO. on one side, and PAX QUÆRITUR BELLO on the other side, and the two inscriptions for the edge thereof, *viz.* HAS NISI PERITURUS MICHI ADIMAT NEMO, and PROTECTOR LITERIS, LITERÆ NUMMIS CORONA ET SALUS, being now presented, and considered of, be approved.

W. Jessop, Cl. of the Council.

The drawing of the Crown represents the head with the band and robe <sup>p</sup>; Reverse, arms as on the Coins.

The Twenty-shilling Piece has the bust naked laureate; Reverse, arms. The Half-Crown, 4s. 6d. and 5s. Gold, not drawn<sup>q</sup>. Qu. if the last impression was used?

<sup>n</sup> Folkes, page 99, note \*.

<sup>o</sup> Qu. should not this be Blondeau's invention? See below.

<sup>p</sup> This, I presume, was in imitation of the Coins of Charles I.; but the dress was altered from this to the Roman costume.

<sup>q</sup> I know not what is here intended by the 4s. 6d. and 5s. Gold.

Thursday, 11 December.

At the Council at Whitehall.

Ordered,

That the stamp and superscription on one side of the Money [to] be coined according to Mr. Blondeau's new invention<sup>r</sup>, be according to the form now brought in instead of that form agreed on.

W. Jessop, Cl. of the Council.

The drawing is only of the head, as it is upon the Coins<sup>s</sup>.

These public proceedings mark so strongly an intention to form a Coinage for general use, that I think the Protector's design, at that time, cannot be doubted, although reasons of policy afterwards induced him to abandon it.

1657. On the 8th of June, a Bill for the encouragement of the importation of Bullion was read the first time, in the House of Commons, and was ordered to be read a second time on the following day<sup>t</sup>.

It was accordingly read, with amendments, and committed<sup>u</sup>.

On the 22d of the same month, the Amendments were reported, and read a first and second time, and the Bill was recommitted<sup>x</sup>.

1657-8. I have not found that any further proceedings were had, which was probably owing to the

<sup>r</sup> This is what is called above Symon's invention. In a copy of the Proceedings of the Council on the 17th of November, amongst the Lansdowne MSS. the invention is called Blondeau's, "which hinders all washers and clippers." [No DCCCCVI.]

<sup>s</sup> Vertué's Works of Simon, Supplement, page 70\*.

<sup>t</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VII. p. 550.

<sup>u</sup> Commons Journals, p. 552.

<sup>x</sup> Idem, p. 568.



sudden dissolution of the Parliament upon the 4th of February, and the death of the Protector, which happened on the 3d of September following, 1658.

The inscriptions upon his Coins, containing his style on the Obverse, and the mottos for the Reverse, and the edges, having already been given above, from the Minutes of the Council at Whitehall in the year 1656, it remains only to be observed, that on the Obverse of the Silver Pieces the Protector's bust was represented with a crown of laurel and in Roman costume, and on the Reverse were the arms of the Commonwealth, with the addition of the cross for Scotland, and Cromwell's family coat on an escutcheon of pretence. That the impression was the same upon the Gold Coins, excepting that on them the neck was entirely bare; a distinction which was now first introduced.

The dates are 1656 and 1658. The chief Coinage is of the latter date.

There are proofs of Copper Farthings, all without date, except that before-mentioned, under the Money of the Commonwealth, which has the date 1651. None of these were, as I believe, ever current. *See.*

The only Mint was that in the Tower of London.

#### RICHARD CROMWELL

was elected Protector by the Privy Council within an hour after the death of his father, and was proclaimed upon the following day.

y On his Great Seal he is styled, OLIVARIUS DEI GRATIA REIP ANGLIÆ SCOTIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ, &c. PROTECTOR. On the Reverse, MAGNUM SIGILLUM REIPVB ANGLIÆ SCOTIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ. [Vertue's Works of Simon.]

1659. Towards the latter end of his Government, if such it can be called, the Committee which had been appointed by the Parliament for the inspection into the Accounts and Public Revenue, made their report upon the 17th of April, 1659, from which it appeared that the annual income arising from the Mint was £.3. 5s. 9d.

The expenses were, in fees to the Officers of the Mint, with their diet and incidental charges, £1154. 19s. 5d.\*

1659. In this year a Petition was presented by Edward Johnson, jun. esq. and others to the Protector, with proposals to coin a common Farthing of fine Rose Copper of the weight of about half a quarter of an ounce avoirdupois, and twenty-two Shillings by tale, to weigh eight pounds avoirdupois, with the remedy of Sixpence under or over, to be current in England, Scotland and Ireland, for all such persons as would use it for their necessity of change, and all other Farthing Tokens to be prohibited. For the exclusive privilege of coining these Farthings, they offered to pay twelve Pence for every twenty-two Shillings of them which should be vented or uttered.

In consequence of this Petition (which was in fact made by Thomas Violet, Johnson, &c. being only his Trustees) a warrant was issued to Sir William Ellis, Bart. the Solicitor-General, on the 19th of April, commanding him to prepare a book fit for the Protector's signature, for the erecting of an office

\* Parliamentary History, vol. XXI. pp. 327, 332. If there be not some error in the statement of income in this account, the Coinage must have been very small indeed.

for the sole making, venting, and uttering, for 31 years, a common Farthing, according to the terms of the Petition, with such rules to be observed by the Petitioners, or their assigns, for the stamps, figures, and arms of the said Farthings, as the Protector and his successors should appoint.

The Solicitor-General to attend and acquaint the Parliament with the Petition, together with the reasons thereunto annexed, and with the warrant, who were desired to ordain and appoint such rules, prohibitions, and penalties, for the effectual and better management of the service, the preventing of all former abuses, and restraining of the counterfeiting, and importation of any of the said Farthings from the parts beyond the seas, as they should think fit and necessary for carrying on this service for the good of the Commonwealth<sup>a</sup>.

Richard resigned the Protectorship in the following month of May, which prevented the carrying this project into execution, and the Parliament resumed the public exercise of that authority which it had virtually enjoyed from a very short time after the death of Oliver.

The style of Richard on his Great Seal was the same as that used by his Father.

The Power of the Army, however, soon became paramount, opposed the sitting of the Parliament, and, after some struggle with it, restored the Royal Family to the Throne.

During the existence of the Parliamentary authority, the House referred to those of its Members

<sup>a</sup> Violet's True Narrative of the Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty, against the Ships Sampson, &c. 4to. Lond. 1659, p. 117, &c.

who were of the Council of State, to examine what Bullion of Gold and Silver had been transported out of the Commonwealth, and to take care to put in execution the Act for preventing the exportation of Bullion or Money; and to seize any to be transported; and to prevent the carrying out of any Bullion, or ready money, for the future <sup>b</sup>.

This was upon the 11th of July, 1659; and accordingly it was resolved, upon the 21st of May, 1660, that no Money or Bullion should be exported without the approbation of Parliament, and that it should be referred to the Council of State to take care thereof; and, upon any address made to them for liberty in that behalf, to report the case to the House for their direction therein <sup>c</sup>.

Coins of the Commonwealth were struck with the date of this year impressed upon them <sup>d</sup>.

## CHARLES II.

1660. The commencement of the reign of Charles II. is, by courtesy, computed from the death of his Father in 1648, but it did not actually take place until the 29th of May in this year.

It is not certainly known that he coined any Money before his Restoration, but Mr. Folkes conjectured that some five Shillings, and two Shillings and

<sup>b</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VII. p. 711. The Coins at this time were so debased, that in a sum of £2,550. 18s. 2d. it is stated that near £500 were counterfeit and clipped Money. [Idem, p. 712.]

<sup>c</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VIII. p. 39.

<sup>d</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XXXI. No 2.

Sixpenny Pieces, were struck by him, during the interval between his Father's death and his own Restoration in 1660 ; though he was unable to learn where or when they were coined <sup>e</sup>.

They bear on the Obverse an imperial crown, with this legend, CAR II. D. G. MAG. BRIT. and on the Reverse the value, with FRA. ET. HYB. REX. F. D. <sup>f</sup>

It is probable that they were struck in Ireland, by the Marquis of Ormond, who proclaimed the King in all the places which owned his authority, within about a fortnight after his Father's death ; for in type they are exactly similar to those which were coined in Dublin by the authority of Charles I. in the year 1643 <sup>g</sup>.

Other Coins were struck in his name by Colonel John Morris, Governor of Pontefract Castle, the only place in England where the King was proclaimed immediately upon the death of his Father. This fortress held out about seven weeks after that event <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Folkes, page 103. On the 6th of December, 1651, Sir Thomas Vyner, knt. and bart. Francis Meynell, esq. then Sheriff of London, and Edward Blackwell, esq. contracted with his Majesty to take in by tale, and to coin with all convenient expedition, at their own charge, into English current Monies, the Coins which were called Crown and Harp Monies ; receiving for the same a consideration of £5. 10s. for every £100 in tale, in lieu of want of weight, and expense of Coinage. Upon which there was accordingly re-coined, of the said Monies, the sum of £500,000 in tale. [Folkes, p. 112, note.] For this no authority is given. The transaction is very extraordinary on every account, and the date not quite two months after Charles's escape into France, subsequent to the battle of Worcester.

<sup>f</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XXX. Nos 1, 2, and 3.

<sup>g</sup> See Plate XXVII. Nos 8 and 9. They are inscribed on the Obverse with c. r. only.

<sup>h</sup> See Plate XXIX. Nos 12 and 13, and Gold Coins, Plate

His restoration was not effected until the 9th of May, 1660, but a Parliament met, at Westminster, on the five and twentieth of April, for the purpose of placing him upon the throne. In the course of their Session an Act was passed for the restraining the taking of excessive usury, the preamble to which stated, that the abatement of interest from ten in the hundred in former times<sup>i</sup> had been found, by notable experience, beneficial to the advancement of trade and improvement of lands by good husbandry, with many other considerable advantages to the Nation, especially the reducing of it to a nearer proportion with foreign States with whom traffick was carried on ; and also, that in fresh memory the like fall from eight to six in the hundred, by a late constant practice, had found the like success, to the general contentment of the Nation, as was visible by several improvements : and further, that it was the endeavour of some, at that time, to reduce it back again in practice to the allowance of the Statute still in force<sup>k</sup>, to eight in the hundred, to the great discouragement of ingenuity and industry, in the husbandry, trade, and commerce of the Nation. It was therefore enacted, that, after the 29th of September in that year, no one should take above the value of six Pounds for the forbearance of one hundred Pounds for one year, and so after that rate for

XIV. No 3. See also Folkes, p. 93. A more full account of these Coins may be seen in the History of particular Mints, under the title Pontefract Castle.

<sup>i</sup> That is, by Statute 37 Henry VIII. chap. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Statute 21 James I. chap. 17. It was not, I presume, thought proper to state that the rate of interest was so reduced by a distinct Act during the Usurpation, in the year 1651, chap. 13.

a greater or lesser sum, or for a longer or shorter time<sup>1</sup>.

An Order for the preparation of Puncheons, Dies, &c. for the making of Gold and Silver Coins, was issued upon the 27th of June; and an Indenture with Sir Ralph Freeman, Master and Worker of the Mint, was dated upon the 20th of July. It provided for the Coinage of the same Pieces, and of the same value, as those which had been coined in the time of the late King, and were all hammered Monies. It is observable, that although Crown Pieces are specified in it, yet not any such were coined, as appears by the verdicts of the Pix<sup>m</sup>.

The Mint, however, was not set to work quite so early as these dates seem to imply. This appears by an Order from the King directed to Sir William Parkhurst and Sir Anthony St. Leger, knts. Wardens of the Mint; and Sir Ralph Freeman, knt. Master and Worker of the Monies, which bore date upon the 10th of August. In it they were required and authorized to make or cause to be made, all sorts of irons, &c. &c. for the well making and imprinting the new Monies; and to cause Thomas Symons to draw and grave all such patterns and irons with the King's effigies, title, &c. according to such directions and commands as they should receive from his Majesty<sup>n</sup>. But Symon was not so quick in his operations as was expected, which produced an Order from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, dated on the 18th of the same month, requiring that he should forbear all other services until he had per-

<sup>1</sup> Statute 12 Charles II. chap. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Lowndes, p. 55; and Folkes, p. 103.

<sup>n</sup> Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 83.

fectured all things belonging to him to do for setting the Mint presently at work, and that he should use all speed and diligence therein, suitable to the absoluteness of the Order.

This was followed by another Order; under the hand of the King himself, directed to Thomas Symonds, one of his Chief Gravers, and dated on the 21st of September following, in which he was commanded to lay aside all other occasions, and forthwith to prepare the original or master-punches and charges, as also some dies or stamps, for the Gold and Silver Coins, according to an Order of the 27th of June last, without fail °.

On the 14th of December, the King granted to Sir Thomas Armstrong, knt. his heirs, &c. by Patent, power to coin, during twenty-one years from the date thereof, such a quantity of Farthing Tokens of Copper as might be conveniently issued during the said term amongst his Majesty's subjects in Ireland. And, in order to distinguish them from any other Tokens, they were to be made of Copper by engines, and were to have on one side two sceptres crossing one diadem, and on the other side an harp crowned, with his Majesty's title, CAROLUS SE-  
CUNDUS MAGNE BRITANNIE, FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REX. They were to weigh twenty grains, or more<sup>p</sup>, with a privy mark, from time to time, in order to discover the counterfeiting of them : and were to be current within the Kingdom of Ireland, and all other Tokens were absolutely forbidden.

For this privilege Sir Thomas Armstrong was to pay yearly, during the before-mentioned term, the

° Vertue's Works of Simon, p. 84.

<sup>p</sup> Some of them weigh 28 grains. Simon, p. 51.



sum of  $\text{£}16.13s.4d.$  of lawful Money of England, in two payments, viz. on the 24th of June and 25th of December; and if any part was unpaid within thirty days after it became due, then the Letters Patent to be void.

The Patentee was to have all the profits of the Coinage, and to deliver one and twenty Shillings in Tokens for every twenty Shillings in current sterling Money; and to repay twenty Shillings in current sterling Money for every twenty-one Shillings of the said Tokens as should be brought to him. And he was authorized to send convenient quantities of them to as many cities, towns, and other places in Ireland, as he should think fit<sup>a</sup>.

His Majesty also took into consideration the hardships under which his subjects in that kingdom laboured for want of a good Silver species, and by the great quantity of base Money imported; and was pleased to inform the Lords Justices and Council, by a letter dated on the 30th of October<sup>r</sup>, that it had been proposed to him, as an expedient for the present, to raise such outlandish Coin as was then current there to an higher value, and to depress that part thereof which was of the baser sort to a less value; and accordingly he authorized them to take the premises into their serious consideration,

<sup>a</sup> Simon, p. 51; and Appendix, p. 125. It is probable that not one of these was uttered; for, in 1680, the son of Sir Thomas Armstrong stated, in a Petition to the King, that neither his father nor himself were ever admitted to make use of this Grant, nor to obtain allowance from the Chief Governor of Ireland to issue the said Tokens. [Simon, Appendix, No LXV.]

<sup>r</sup> I know not whether this date be correct: in the body of Simon's Essay, it stands, as above, October, but in the Appendix, No LIV. it is November.

and to do therein what they should find most expedient for the good of his people and his service.

1660-1. They therefore declared, by Proclamation upon the 29th January, that the following Pieces should be current from the 2d day of February next, at the weights and rates subjoined, as fully and freely as if they were sterling Money, and current of and in England, *viz.*

### Gold.

	Weight. dwt. gr.		Value. £. s. d.		
The Golden Rider, weighing -	6 12	at 1	2	6	
The Half in proportion.					
The Spanish or French Quadruple Pistole - - - -	17 8	—	3	4	0
The Double, Single, and Half Pistole, in proportion.					
The Double Ducat of Gold -	4 12	—	0	18	0
The Single in proportion.					
The Spanish Suffrain - - -	7 2	—	1	8	0
The Half in proportion.					

### Silver.

The Mexico or Seville Piece of Eight, the Rix Dollar, or Cross Dollar - - - -	17 0	—	0	4	9
The Half, Quarter, and Half-quarter, in proportion.					
The Portugal Royal - - -	14 0	—	0	3	8
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					
The Duccatoon - - - -	20 16	—	0	5	9
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					

	Weight. dwt. gr.	Value. £. s. d.
The old Peru Piece and French Lewis - - - - -	17 0 —	0 4 6
The Half, Quarter, and Half- quarter, in proportion.		

Two Pence were to be allowed for every grain of Gold under the above weight, and three Pence for every pennyweight of Silver deficient, and with such allowances the defective Coins were to be current\*.

1661. On the 10th of June a Proclamation was issued against exporting Gold and Silver, and against buying and selling them at higher rates than were given in the Mint; and also against culling, washing, or otherwise diminishing the current Monies. It stated, that the scarcity of Money was occasioned by the late illegal and promiscuous buying and selling all sort of Gold and Silver at higher rates than ever his Majesty or any of his Royal Progenitors had allowed in their Mint. That this occasioned the Gold and Silver to be exported, and that none could be brought into the Mint, but to the loss of such as brought the same, which [the Proclamation very sagely observes] it was probable no man would do.

Therefore, to preserve within the kingdom the Gold and Silver which should be brought into it in exchange for the native commodities of the land, it was ordained, that no person whatsoever should hereafter, without especial license, transport any Gold or Silver in any form, on pain of such punishment as by the Laws might be inflicted on them. The Proclamation then proceeded to state the pro-

\* Simon, p. 51; and Appendix, No LIV.

visions of those Laws ; such as the Statute of York, 9 Edward III. the first, sixth, and ninth chapters ; the Statute 5 Richard II. chap. 2 ; 2 Henry IV. chap. 5 ; one part of the Statute 2 Henry VI. chap. 6 ; 25 Edward III. chap. 12 ; 5 Edward VI. chap. 19 ; another part of the Statute 2 Henry VI. chap. 6 ; and that those Statutes had been confirmed by sundry Orders and Proclamations of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I. whereby the Nation had flourished for many hundred years, famous for her constant sterling standard, and *renowned for her plenteous stock of Monies*<sup>t</sup> and magnificence of Plate, until the late distracted times. And whereas there had been daily a great consumption of the heavy current Silver Coins and Bullion of the kingdom, in making Gold and Silver Wire, &c. &c. and also by the sleight and deceitful adulterate making them of coarse Silver, under sterling, and likewise a vast expense and waste of Gold in all sorts of gildings, the Proclamation further declared it to be his Majesty's intention, in due time, to take such strict course as should reduce the makers of those manufactures into such order, that all abuses should in future be prevented, and the manufactures of Gold and Silver be duly regulated and assayed, according to the Statutes <sup>u</sup>.

A Proclamation was published in Dublin, upon the 17th of August, to prohibit the making of Tokens, which several persons, in all the cities, corporate and market towns, throughout Ireland, had

<sup>t</sup> And yet every one of those Statutes states the *scarcity of Money* as the reasons for its provisions !

<sup>u</sup> Procl. penes auctorem.

taken a liberty to strike, without any restrictions, in Brass or Copper, with such stamps as they pleased, in very great proportions, and had vented them for a Penny each piece in exchange, under pretence that when they should be called in, or decried, the persons who uttered them would receive them back again at the rates for which they were issued. By which means there were raised near about twenty Shillings in pure Silver Coin, for the value of every twenty Pence which the Brass stood in. When this was done, and those Brass Tokens were issued amongst the people, then it came to pass that many of those, who caused such Tokens to be so stamped and issued, kept out of the way, and so avoided the accepting or exchanging them, to the great loss and disappointment of many poor people. The Silver Money, gained by such exchanges, was supposed to have been exported out of the kingdom.

It was therefore forbidden to buy or barter for any such Tokens, or to issue any of them in payments, except to such as had made them, or caused them to be made, under the pretence before-mentioned. And it was further declared not to be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever (without special license from his Majesty in that behalf) to make, or cause to be made, any Brass or Copper Money or Tokens, on pain of such punishment as by the laws of the kingdom might be justly inflicted on the contemners of his Majesty's authority <sup>x</sup>.

As Sir Thomas Armstrong's Patent for the making of Farthing Tokens, which was granted on the 14th of December in the last year, was not excepted from

<sup>x</sup> Simon, page 52; and Appendix, No LV.

the general prohibition, is was found necessary to recognize it in another Proclamation, upon the 13th of September following, in which the one above stated was recited y.

At this time the Gold Coins, notwithstanding the late Proclamation of the 10th of June last, were exported in such quantities that they were current more abundantly in foreign parts than in England.

To provide a remedy for this, his Majesty called before himself and his Privy Council, the Commissioners of Trade, the Officers of the Mint, and the Goldsmiths of the best sort, in order to ground his Majesty's resolutions, in that behalf, upon such information and discoveries as either art, experience, or knowledge of affairs abroad, could afford.

After considering former events, with their present opinion and advice, it was determined, that the evil originated in the great gain which the Merchant (especially the stranger) made by the exportation of the Gold; which gain arose out of the disproportion between the price of the Coins of Gold, which was higher abroad than within the kingdom; and, at that time, was so great and so swift in return, that it incited men to offend against all laws which had formerly been made against such exportation. His Majesty, therefore, resolved (preserving still the weight and fineness of the standard) to raise the price of the Gold Coins to, or near, the equal value which it bore in foreign parts.

But, in order that it might not be conceived that his Majesty would make the remedy greater than the inconvenience, it was absolutely concluded not to make any manner of alteration in the price, or

otherwise, of the Silver Money; because with that all trades and payments were so much driven and made, that the raising the price thereof would give both colour and cause to raise the prices of all commodities and things vendible, which his Majesty sought by all means to avoid.

And to show that in such proceeding his Majesty was not bent upon any benefit to himself, (which might accrue by the Coinage, if the increase of price had been set upon such Coins only as had been newly stamped,) but that the reformation was intended for the publick good, the price was fixed, as well of Gold heretofore coined, as hereafter; so that if any profit should by accident fall out, it would rather be his subjects than his Majesty's.

It was therefore declared by Proclamation, on the 26th of August, that the several Pieces of Gold should be current within the Realm, respectively, at the following values; *viz.*

The Unite - -	} now cur- rent at	{ 22s. 0d. 11 0 5 6 4 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 2 9	} to be cur- rent at	{ 23s. 6d. 11 9 5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4 8 2 11
Double Crown -				
Britany Crown -				
Thistle Crown -				
Half Crown - -				

The Coin of Gold of Scotland, called the Six-pound Piece, then current at eleven Shillings, to be current at eleven Shillings and eight Pence.

The Unite - -	} now cur- rent at	{ 20s. 0d. 10 0 5 0 33 0 16 6 11 0 5 6	} to be cur- rent at	{ 21s. 4d. 10 8 5 4 35 0 17 6 11 8 5 10
Double Crown -				
Britain Crown -				
Rose Royal - -				
Spur Royal - -				
Angel - - - -				
Angelet, or Half Angel - - - -				

Quarter-Angel	} now current at	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \ 9 \\ 30s. \\ 15 \\ 10 \end{array} \right\}$	} to be current at	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2s.11d. \\ 32 \ 0 \\ 16 \ 0 \\ 10 \ 8 \end{array} \right\}$
The Rose Royal				
Spur Royal - -				
Angel - - -				

And as this increasing the prices of Gold was likely to bring more of it into currency, it was ordained, (in order to prevent that which was become light by clipping or washing from being put into circulation,) that it should be lawful to refuse any Pieces which were lighter than the Remedies allowed, *viz.*

In every Piece of Gold formerly current for -	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 33s. \ 0d. \\ 22 \ 0 \\ 16 \ 0 \\ 11 \ 0 \\ 5 \ 6 \\ 2 \ 9 \end{array} \right\}$	} the Remedy not to exceed	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4\frac{1}{2} \text{ grains.} \\ 3 \text{ ditto.} \\ 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ ditto.} \\ 2 \text{ ditto.} \\ 1 \text{ grain.} \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ ditto.} \end{array} \right\}$

And for every grain deficient, over and above those Remedies, two Pence to be allowed.

But all Pieces which did not want more in weight than the said Remedies, were to be received without any abatement or allowance, as if the same were of full and just weight.

And it was further provided, that if any Piece did want in weight above double the number of grains allowed for the Remedy, then it should not only be absolutely refused, but every person to whom it should be tendered in payment, should brand it by striking an hole through it; and that the same should be done to any Pieces which should be found soldered or unlawfully debased; and that the Pieces so stricken through should be returned immediately to the owner thereof.



In every Piece of	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 30s. \\ 20 \\ 15 \\ 10 \\ 5 \end{array} \right\}$	the Remedy	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4\frac{1}{2} \text{ grains.} \\ 3 \text{ ditto.} \\ 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ ditto.} \\ 2 \text{ ditto.} \\ 1 \text{ grain,} \end{array} \right\}$
Gold formerly			
current at - -			

not to exceed

under the same conditions as the others above-mentioned.

The Proclamation also required all his Majesty's Officers, &c. to put in execution the following Statutes for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, *viz.* the Statute of York, 9 Edward III. chap. 1, 6, 9, and 10, and the Statute 2 Henry IV. chap. 5.<sup>2</sup>

It was now thought proper that the Coins which were struck during the Usurpation, (stamped with the cross and harp, and with these words, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND,) should not continue to be current, as they had hitherto been, together with the lawful Money; and accordingly it was declared by Proclamation, upon the seventh of September, that they should be current no longer than until the last day of November; after which time they were to be brought to the Mint, where an equal quantity of lawful Money would be allowed for them, weight for weight, deducting only for the Coinage.

The Proclamation stated, that as those Coins were not considered to be the lawful Money of the Realm, many persons had presumed to counterfeit them, hoping to escape punishment until such Coins were made legal and current by his Majesty's Proclamation; it therefore forbade the washing, clipping, filing, counterfeiting, or otherwise abasing

<sup>2</sup> Procl. penes auctorem.

those Coins in future, on pain of being proceeded against, according to the Statutes of the Realm made against the counterfeiting, &c. of the lawful Money <sup>a</sup>.

On the 20th of November, a Proclamation was issued, to prohibit the importation of divers foreign wares, and merchandizes; and to repress the excess of gilding of coaches and chariots, which was grown at that time into frequent and excessive use, so as to be one great means of the scarcity of Gold. It was therefore forbidden to gild any part of such carriages (excepting only those which should be provided for his Majesty, or the royal family, and excepting coats of arms upon other coaches) on pain of such punishment, as by the Laws and Statutes had in such cases been provided <sup>b</sup>.

By a warrant dated on the 28th of November, the values of the several pieces, which were to be coined by virtue of the Indenture of the 20th of July in the last year, were ordered to be stamped upon them; and by a Commission dated soon afterward, Groats and Quarter Shillings were directed to be added <sup>c</sup>.

Upon the same day Mr. Secretary Morrice informed the House of Commons, that his Majesty (making the good of his people the subject of his thoughts, and considering that the calling in of Money, called the Commonwealth's Money, by the last day of the month, might be prejudicial to his people, and hazard the exportation of a great part thereof) was graciously pleased, by the advice of his

<sup>a</sup> Proc. penes auct. It is remarkable that the Coins of Cromwell are not described in this Proclamation; an omission which leads to the conclusion that they were never in circulation.

<sup>b</sup> Proc. penes auct.

<sup>c</sup> Folkes, p. 103.

Privy Council, to direct a Proclamation to be issued, signifying his Majesty's pleasure to accept the said Money, in any payment to be made to his Majesty, until the 25th of March next. It was ordered that Mr. Secretary Morrice should return the humble thanks of the House to his Majesty for his grace and favour therein <sup>d</sup>.

Some delay, however, took place, and the Proclamation was not issued until the 7th of December, but it extended the time still further than that which was limited in his Majesty's message to the House, namely, to the first of May next following. So that those Monies might be paid into any of his Majesty's publick receipts, for duties, &c. to him, but not to be current in common payments between his subjects beyond the day originally appointed. And all the officers of his receipt were commanded, upon receipt of any considerable sum thereof, to give notice to the High Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, from time to time, to the end that such speedy directions might be given for the new coining thereof, as should be thought fit, his Majesty being willing, for the ease of his subjects, to take the charge of the coinage thereof upon himself. This was done in order to prevent the exportation of that Money.

The Proclamation further forbade the counterfeiting, &c. of these Coins, between the last day of November and the first of May, on pain of being pro-

<sup>d</sup> See "A true and perfect Collection of all Messages, Addresses, &c. from the House of Commons, from 1660 to August 14, 1670," fol. 1680, p. 3. The date of the 25th of March is probably incorrect. See the 16th of January following.

ceeded against according to the Laws and Statutes of the realm <sup>e</sup>.

1661-2. It should seem, that this extension of the time was granted in consequence of some representations which the Commons had made to his Majesty, for on the 16th of January Mr. Secretary Morrice informed the House, that his Majesty, having (to gratify that House) enlarged the time for accepting the late Coin in payments to his Majesty from the first of March<sup>f</sup> till the first of May, had received information from several Officers of his Exchequer and Mint, that it would be a great loss and prejudice, and very mischievous to his Majesty, and of advantage only to some private persons, who had engrossed and bought up the said Coin; and therefore he was advised to recall his Proclamation, and confine the making the said Coin passable in payments to his Majesty to the first of March only. And though it was much his Majesty's interest so to do, yet he would not do the same till he had advised with the House therein.

The House returned humble thanks to his Majesty by Mr. Morrice, who was desired to acquaint his Majesty, that the House being fully satisfied with the reasons for reducing the time of accepting the late Coin in payments to his Majesty, did acquiesce in his Majesty's resolution, and did wholly leave it to his Majesty's pleasure to do as he should think fit in reducing the same <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Proc. penes auctorem.

<sup>f</sup> In Secretary Morrice's former notice to the House, on the 28th of November, the date is the 25th of March, but this appears, from what follows, upon the 23d of January, to be correct.

<sup>g</sup> See "A true and perfect Collection of all Messages, Ad-

That Proclamation was accordingly recalled, and by another, which was issued on the 23d of January, it was ordered, that after the first day of March these Coins should be no longer received by his Majesty's Officers. The prohibition against counterfeiting them was repeated in that Proclamation <sup>h</sup>.

1661-2. In the Parliament which was holden at Edinburgh on the 1st of January an Act was passed concerning the Bullion. It stated, that the King, considering how much the penury and scarcity of his Majesty's Coin in Scotland, was occasioned by the meanness and smallness of the proportion of Bullion at first imposed, never heretofore considerably augmented, had ordained the same to be increased. And to prevent all abuse and prejudice to the Mint by the Customers exacting of his Majesty's, and his predecessors their own Coin, from the Merchants exporters of the commodities liable in payment of quantities of Bullion, or else exacting so much per ounce of the said Merchant exporter, to the great prejudice and utter destruction of the said Mint, had ordained that every Merchant exporter (whether native or foreigner) should give security that Bullion, equivalent in proportion to the quantity of goods exported, be delivered to the Officers of his Majesty's Mint (and that of foreign Bullion) either plate or burnt Silver, twelve denier fine, and being baser, to be considered by weight and reckoning, and that the said Customers should not receive any of his Majesty's, or his predecessors Coin, or any

dresses, &c. from the House of Commons, from 1661 to August 14th, 1679," page 4.

<sup>h</sup> Proc. penes auctorem.

other satisfaction, whatsoever, except the said foreign Bullion <sup>i</sup>.

By the 49th chapter, the interest of Money, or, as it is called, the annual rent, was reduced to six per cent. <sup>k</sup>.

The improvement of coining by the mill was early taken into consideration, and was resolved upon before the end of the year 1661; but it was not brought into full practice at that time, for there is an Order of Council, dated January 17th, 1661-2, for a Privy Seal, "to pay to Sir William Parkhurst, and Sir Anthony St. Leger, knts. and Wardens of the Mint, £.1,400 by way of imprest, to be employed for erecting houses, mills, engines, and other materials for the coining of Money by the mill <sup>l</sup>.

By an Order of the Privy Council, at which the King himself was present, on the 24th of January, all gravers were forbidden to grave or make any irons, &c. for coining, in any place but in his Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London. And by the same Order Thomas Simon, graver, was required speedily to bring in, and deliver to the Officers of his Majesty's Mint, all such tools and engines for coining as he had in his possession <sup>m</sup>. From this time Simon's connection with the Mint seems to

<sup>i</sup> Scottish Acts first Parliament of Charles II. cap. 37. Act concerning the Bullion.

After the provisions of this Act "follows the A. B. C. [or as it is called in the Act the Alphabet] of Bullion, as it is now establish by our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament." This shows the quantity of Bullion which is to be paid upon various articles when exported, as pot ashes, &c. the last, four ounces, at twelve deniers fine.

<sup>k</sup> Id.

<sup>l</sup> Folkes, p. 104.

<sup>m</sup> Vertue's Works of Simon, Appendix, page 85.

have ceased, no more directions to him being found in the Mint books <sup>n</sup>.

On the 19th of February a Bill was ordered to be brought into the House of Commons against the wearing of Gold and Silver lace, buttons, ribbands, or any other trimmings for cloaths of Gold or Silver, and against gilding of coaches and signs, and all things else that might waste the Coin of the Kingdom <sup>o</sup>. It appears, however, that the Bill was not presented.

1662. On the 18th of the following April, the agreements made by Sir Ralph Freeman, knt. Master and Worker of the Mint, and Henry Slingsby, esq. his deputy, "concerning several proposals made by them, about coining his Majesty's Monies by the mill and press," were made in Council and approved.

By these agreements it appears that Peter Blondeau, the same artist who had formerly made proposals to the Commonwealth, was now taken into the Mint, and that he there undertook, for certain considerations, "to furnish all the mills, rollers, presses, and other instruments, to cut, flatten, make round, and size the pieces; the engine to mark the edges of the Money with letters and grainings, the great presses for coining of Monies, and all other tools and engines for the new way of coining;" and further, that he did also undertake, "to teach and instruct the Moniers in the use of his new invented tools and engines, and in coining by way of the mill and press;" the corporation of Moniers, on their

<sup>n</sup> Id. page 82. But see under the 18th of April, where he is spoken of as still belonging to the Mint.

<sup>o</sup> Commons Journals, vol. VIII. p. 368.

part, undertaking at certain rates in the said agreements mentioned, “to pass the plates of Gold and Silver at the horse mill, and to cut, flatten, size, neale, blanch, and coin the pieces; to maintain the horses, to find alum, argol, and saw-dust, to keep in repair the ovens, furnaces, and utensils for nealing and blanching, to make good the balances, small files, pans, tubs, trays, bowls, and sacks, and all waste of Gold and Silver in nealing, blanching, and working.”

The said Blondeau particularly engaged, “to discover his secrets in rounding pieces before they are sized, and in marking the edges of the Moneys with letters and grainings unto his Majesty, if he should please to be witness of his art and inventions, and unto the Warden, Master and Worker, and Comptroller of the Mint, and to such other persons only of trust and confidence, as the said Peter Blondeau should, from time to time, find necessary to employ in assisting him to round the pieces, and to mark the edges of the Monies, according to the quantities weekly coined <sup>P</sup>.

It further appears by the report of the forementioned agreements, that the Officers of the Mint therein named did also then certify, “that they had proposed unto Thomas Simon, and John Roetier, Gravers of the Mint, to accept of certain *præmia* therein specified, for the furnishing the Mint with stamps for coining in the new way; but that by

<sup>P</sup> This practice of keeping secret the manner of edging the Money is still observed in the Mint, all those who are intrusted with it being sworn not to discover it, notwithstanding the manner in which the same operation is performed in several foreign Mints is there publickly shewn! [Folkes, p. 105.]



reason of a contest in art between them, they had found it difficult to bring them to any agreement."

This John Roetier was a native of Antwerp, who having been presented to the King abroad, as a very eminent and excellent artist in his way, came over soon after the Restoration, and was by his Majesty appointed one of the Gravers of the Mint. Both Simon and he made their several models or pattern pieces for the new Money, which being shewed at Court, his Majesty is said to have best approved of those given in by Roetier; and these were accordingly ordered to be followed, in the puncheons and dies to be made for the new Money. Which preference so far exasperated Simon, who did not value his own performances less than they deserved, nor knew how to submit to his foreign rival, that he either thereupon immediately quitted the Mint, or, for some apprehended misbehaviour upon the occasion, was soon after removed from his office of one of the chief engravers <sup>9</sup>.

It has been seen that many unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a grant to establish a Mint for the coining of Silver Money in Dublin; but now a patent was actually granted for that purpose to Sir Thomas Vyner, Bart. Robert Vyner, and Daniel Bellingham, Goldsmiths. By this instrument, which bore date upon the 28th of April, was erected, created, and established, a Mint Office in some convenient place within the City of Dublin, for the coining of all sorts of small Silver Monies, of the denominations of, or running for, Groats, or Four-

<sup>9</sup> Folkes, page 104. But see November 14th, 1662, when the King commanded him to make puncheons for the Coins of Scotland.

penny Pieces, or under, to be uttered as current, or lawful, Money within the Kingdom of Ireland ; together with the Offices of Master and Worker, Warden, Comptroller, and Assay Master of the said Mint, and all other inferior Officers, which his Majesty's Lieutenant, Deputy, Justices, and other the chief Governor or Governors of the Kingdom for the time being, should judge necessary or requisite to be employed in that service. With authority to the said Lieutenant, &c. to appoint such Officers with reasonable salaries. The patentees to have license for the term of twenty-one years, to coin such quantity of small Silver Money as could be conveniently uttered by them amongst his Majesty's subjects. And in order to distinguish those Coins from others already made, it was commanded that the Halfpenny piece should have on one side a crown, and on the other an harp ; the Penny on one side his Majesty's effigies, or his successors, with figures to distinguish and denominate the same, and the Harp crowned on the other ; the Twopenny piece as the Penny, except the figures to distinguish the same ; the Threepenny piece as the Twopenny, excepting the figures, with the addition of the King's title on one side, and the following motto, round the harp, OBLECTAT ET REPARAT, on the other ; the Groat as the Threepenny piece, except the figures to denominate value, or such other stamps, impressions, mottoes, and inscriptions, as the Lord Lieutenant, &c. for the time being, should direct, together with a privy mark, to be set upon every year at coining or stamping the same, to be devised and altered as should be thought meet by the Officers of the said Mint, for the better discovery of the counter-

striking of any such small Silver Monies. The same to be made in the said Mint House, with engines and instruments, by sworn Officers and Workmen, of such Silver only as should be imported, or brought into the Kingdom, in Bullion, or in any foreign specie, and to be of the standard of England, viz. eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, and to be pixed, assayed, and approved by the proper Officers of the said Mint, in such manner as was usual in the Mint in the Tower of London.

Of every pound weight, being twelve ounces troy, of standard Silver, was to be coined, one ounce of Halfpennies, two ounces of Pennies, and the same of Twopenny pieces, three ounces of Threepenny pieces, and four ounces of Groats. Every pound weight to be in tale three Pounds ten Shillings of coined Money; with the Remedy of six pennyweights, under or over, in every pound weight, for the shearing and sizing of the same; and for the fineness the Remedy of two pennyweights.

The Monies so made were to be current in any payments, but no person was to be obliged (unless he were willing thereunto) to receive above two Shillings of it in every twenty Shillings, and so after the same proportion for greater or lesser sums. All persons, except the patentees, their executors, administrators, or assigns, were forbidden to make such Monies, or to make or use the engines by which they might be made, or to use any other small Silver Money (excepting such as upon the 30th of January, 1648, was current, and had since been used in payments within the kingdom of Ireland, and the small Silver Money which then was, or hereafter should be, current in the kingdom of

England), on pain of forfeiture of such Money, &c. and of such further punishment as by the Laws of Ireland, and by his Majesty's prerogative royal, might be inflicted.

Authority was given to the patentees to make search (taking a constable or other officer with them) in any ship, house, &c. for all prohibited or counterfeit small Silver Monies, engines, &c. and to seize the same. For these privileges they were to pay to the King twelve Pence out of every pound weight troy of such Monies, so coined; and to defray all expenses attending the coinage of the same, excepting the allowances to the Master and Worker, Warden, Comptroller, Assay Master, and other chief Officers, which were to be paid by the King.

And the Patent further appointed the said patentees, their heirs, &c. to be Masters and Workers of the said Mint, for the term of twenty-one years above-mentioned, with all the profits of making, issuing, or exchanging, such small Silver Monies. And upon the Monies being found, by the Trial of the Pix, agreeable to the rules prescribed in the Letters Patent, the Lord Lieutenant, &c. were commanded to pass to the patentees, &c. releases or pardons, and to cause proclamations to be made, in his Majesty's name, for the better execution of the several things contained in the said Letters Patent, and especially for declaring, authorizing, and causing the said Monies to pass current within the kingdom of Ireland<sup>r</sup>.

As none of these Coins has ever been discovered, it is probable that the patentees found the coinage

<sup>r</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LVII.

upon such terms not to be advantageous, and consequently dropped the undertaking <sup>s</sup>.

The Statute of the 9th of Edward III. which prohibited the melting of sterling Halfpence or Farthings, and that of the 17th of Richard II. which further prohibited the melting of Groats and Half-Groats, were at this time frequently eluded by divers persons, as well Goldsmiths as others, who made it a practice to melt those Silver Coins of the realm which were above the value of Groats, the largest Coins mentioned in those Statutes. It was therefore enacted, by the Parliament which met on the eighth of May, that no person whatsoever should, after the twentieth of December, melt, or cause to be melted, any of the current Silver Money of the realm, upon pain not only of forfeiture of the same, but also of double the value of any such Coin so melted.

And if the offender were a freeman of any City or Corporation, then he should, upon legal conviction of such offence, be forthwith disfranchised, and made incapable of exercising the trade of a Goldsmith, or any other mystery, by virtue of the privileges of the City or Corporation of which he was a member. But if he were not a freeman, he should, upon conviction, suffer six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize <sup>t</sup>.

From a passage in the Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford it should seem that the Officers of the Mint themselves were suspected of this practice.

<sup>s</sup> Simon, Essay, page 53. It appears from a Minute of the Privy Council, dated Nov. 14, 1662, that Sir Thomas Vyner was ordered to bring in his patent, to the end that it might be surrendered and cancelled. [Communicated by Wm. Bray, Esq.]

<sup>t</sup> Statute 13 and 14 C. II. chap. 31.

The author there speaks of a person who was hanged for coining "upon the testimony of persons worse than himself, and, considering the Officers of the Mint, and the *trade* some of them drove at that time, as like to be false as true."<sup>u</sup> In the time of the Commonwealth, some of the Officers and Workmen of the Mint confessed themselves to have been guilty of this crime, before the Committee for the Mint <sup>w</sup>.

On the first of August in this year the Privy Council ordered Sir William Parkhurst, Warden of the Mint, to require all persons to deliver up into his custody all original punchions, stamps, dyes, or any irons for coining, formerly made by one Nicholas Briot, his late Majesty's Engraver, or any other Engravers, some whereof, their Lordships were informed, were then in the possession and custody of Monsieur D'Avaux, Monsieur Le Roy, and Mr. Ramage. And in case of refusal, the persons refusing to give an account to the Board of the reasons of such refusal. And Sir W. Parkhurst was likewise particularly to examine the person who offered to sale some of his late Majesty's punchions, which were on that day exhibited to the Board <sup>x</sup>.

By an error in drawing-up the Proclamation which was published at Dublin on the 29th of January 1660-1, the Mexico Plate Pieces, commonly known by the name of Pillar Pieces, were not expressly described. In consequence of that omission, they were frequently refused to be accepted

<sup>u</sup> North's Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, page 313.

<sup>w</sup> Blondeau's Representation. Answer of the Moniers, p. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Minutes of the Privy Council, communicated by William Bray, Esq.

in payments, although they were of equal fineness with, and of greater weight than, the rest of the Mexico or Seville Pieces. A Proclamation was therefore issued, upon the 19th of September, by which it was declared, that the said pieces, together with the half, quarter, and half-quarter pieces thereof, were included within the intent of the late Proclamation, and were thereby made current, at several rates, answerable and proportionable to any other of the said Mexico or Seville Pieces, Rix Dollars, or Cross Dollars<sup>y</sup>, mentioned in the said Proclamation, according to the respective quantities thereof; but, for more full satisfaction, they were again declared to be current as above. No person, however, was to be enforced to receive the same, unless the whole piece weighed seventeen pennyweights troy, and the lesser pieces in proportion<sup>z</sup>.

Every thing was now prepared for the new method of coining by the mill, and a Warrant was issued for that purpose to the Officers of the Mint, on the 5th of November, but no Coinage took place until the month of February following<sup>a</sup>, as will be noticed in the proper place.

On the 14th of the same month of November his Majesty commanded Thomas Simon immediately to set about the making of puncheons, with his Majesty's effigies thereon, and his royal arms, for the following species of Coins according to the draughts expressed in the Warrant, for the use of his Mint of Scotland; *viz.* for Gold the twenty Mark piece;

<sup>y</sup> i. e. at 4*s.* 9*d.* with the allowance of three Pence for every pennyweight deficient. [See Proclamation, January 29, 1660-1.]

<sup>z</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LVIII.

<sup>a</sup> Folkes, page 107.

[for Silver] the four Mark piece, the five Mark piece, the Mark piece, the half Mark piece, and the forty Penny piece, and when finished to deliver them to Charles Maitland, General of the said Mint <sup>b</sup>.

1662-3. The puncheons for the Silver Coins were delivered accordingly, as appears from Maitland's receipt, which is dated January the 20th, at which time he had not received any for the Gold Money <sup>c</sup>.

It is probable that the latter never were made, as no Gold was coined for Scotland during this reign <sup>d</sup>. Notwithstanding the delivery of the puncheons at that time, it seems that no Silver Coins were struck until 1664, at least none have been discovered of an earlier date in this reign <sup>e</sup>.

On the 19th of January another Warrant was issued, to the Officers of the Mint in the Tower of London, respecting the new mode of Coinage; but it appears, from the books of that Office, that they did not begin to coin the new Money until the 6th of February, and that it was made current by Proclamation on the 27th of March following <sup>f</sup>.

1663. Another Warrant is dated by Lowndes on the 8th of April <sup>g</sup>.

The twenty Shilling pieces which were coined at that time obtained the name of Guineas, from the Gold of which they were made, and which was brought from Guinea by the African Company. As

<sup>b</sup> Vertue's Works of Simon, Appendix, page 71\*. The words in brackets are omitted, and make it appear as if the warrant were for Gold Coins only; I have therefore added them.

<sup>c</sup> Vertue, p. 72\*.

<sup>d</sup> Cardonnel, Numismata Scotiæ, p. 32.

<sup>e</sup> Id. p. 22, and Folkes, p. 149.

<sup>f</sup> Folkes, p. 108.

<sup>g</sup> Lowndes, page 95.



an encouragement to bring over Gold to be coined, they were permitted, by their charter, to have their stamp of an elephant upon the Coins made of African Gold <sup>h</sup>.

In this year Simon produced his so deservedly famous Petition Crown <sup>i</sup>.

The decided superiority of its workmanship over that which was struck in competition by Roetier (though that was a Coin of eminent beauty) seems not to have availed him any thing; for he was never restored to his place in the Mint.

Indeed Charles II. to whose eye he submitted the justice of his claim to pre-eminence, never possessed that taste in the arts by which his father was so highly distinguished; or if he ever did possess it, his indulgence in licentious excesses had vitiated and nearly annihilated it.

It was now found expédient to modify the Statutes which prohibited the exportation of Bullion.

The reasons which are assigned for this measure in the Act, are such as might have taught the Legislature to see the absurdity of attempting to confine any kind of commodity within the Kingdom by pains and penalties; but it should seem that the last thing which all statesmen are willing to resign, is their weak, and frequently pernicious, interference with commerce.

The words of the Statute are these: "Forasmuch as several considerable and advantageous trades can-

<sup>h</sup> Leake, page 366. The Unites of the Commonwealth, Charles I. and James I. now received the name of Broad, or Broad Piece. Snelling's Gold Coin, p. 28, note (k.)

<sup>i</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XXXIV. No 7, and the description of the Plates.

not be conveniently driven and carried on without the species of Money or Bullion, *and that it is found by experience, that they are carried in greatest abundance (as to a common market) to such places as give free liberty for exporting the same;* and the better to keep in and increase the current Coin of this Kingdom, be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, that from and after the first day of August 1663, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person, or persons, whatsoever, to export out of any Port of England and Wales, in which there is a Customer or Collector, or out of the Town of Berwick, all sorts of foreign Coin or Bullion of Gold or Silver, first making entry thereof in such Custom House respectively, without paying any duty, custom, poundage, or fee for the same; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.” j

In order to prevent the exportation of Money from the Kingdom of Scotland, it was enacted by the Parliament which was holden at Edinburgh on the 18th of June 1663, that no person or persons should trade or use merchandize with any other nation till they had first taken an oath, that they would not export by themselves or others, directly or indirectly, by sea or land, any Gold or Silver coined or uncoined, except such a sum as they should declare upon oath to be necessary for making their voyage. And that every Skipper, before he should make any voyage, should take an oath that he would not himself transport, nor suffer to be

j Act for the encouragement of trade. Statute 15 C. II. chap. 7. § 12.

transported, in his ship, any such Gold or Silver as aforesaid, (except as above, and except the sum of threescore Pounds at most, which every passenger was allowed to carry forth of the country for his necessary spending) on pain of fine and imprisonment <sup>k</sup>.

It appears from Mr. Evelyn's Diary that a Committee had been appointed, and, on the 20th of August in this year, was actually sitting, to consider about the regulation of the Mint. Mr. Evelyn was one of the Commissioners<sup>l</sup>. I have not met with any notice of this Commission elsewhere.

According to Lowndes another warrant, respecting the use of the mill, was dated on the 24th of December<sup>m</sup>.

1664. In this year were coined in Scotland, by the mill and press, pieces of Silver of four Marks, two Marks, one Mark, and half a Mark Scotch. If these Coins were nearly of the England standard and supposed the equality of five Shillings sterling to sixty Shillings Scotch, [which was nearly the proportion at the time of the Union under James I.] then the standard weight of the four Mark piece must have been very nearly that of 413 troy grains; of which weight some of them, in tolerable preservation, want only about three grains <sup>n</sup>.

1665. In the next year a Coinage of Copper Farthings and Halfpence was projected, and some patterns were struck off.

<sup>k</sup> Scottish Acts. Third Session of the first Parliament of Charles I. chap. 11. "Act against exportation of Money forth off the Kingdom."

<sup>l</sup> Memoirs, vol. I. p. 346. See also pp. 348 and 367.

<sup>m</sup> Lowndes, page 95.

<sup>n</sup> Folkes, page 149.

They had on the Obverse the King's bust laureat, with CAROLUS A CAROLO; and on the Reverse, Britannia, with QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO °. In the Exergue BRITANNIA. The Farthings had the date 1665, under the King's bust; the Halfpence were without date P.

It does not appear that these were ever made current, though Leake says that they were called in [which implies precedent currency] to please a neighbouring monarch °.

1666.. In his 18th year was passed an Act for the encouraging of Coinage, to continue from December the 20th, 1666, to December the 20th, 1671, and to the end of the first Session of Parliament then next following, and no longer.

By this Statute the whole expense of Coinage was to be defrayed by the State, and the full weight of standard Gold or Silver brought into the Mint, was to be returned to the bringer-in of current Coins without any deduction whatsoever.

° A Letter from Mr. Hollis to the Printer of the London Chronicle in 1764, mentions a curious inscription upon a cannon (which was cast in 1638) to assert the empire of the sea, CAROLUS EDGARI SCEPTUM STABILIVIT AQUARUM. [Memoirs, p. 669.] That the policy of Charles I. would have led him to assert his right to that empire by means more effectual, had he not been prevented by the turbulency of the times, appears from some of his medals, where the claim was more publicly made than it could be upon an obscure piece of ordnance. [See Medallie History of England, Plate XVII. Nos 4, 5, and 7.]

P See Supplement, Part II. These Coins are sometimes called Lord Lucas's Farthings, on account of a passage in his Speech which he delivered in the House of Peers on the 22d of February, 1670-1. His severe sarcasm upon the legend on the Reverse probably occasioned it to be changed when Halfpence and Farthings of the same type as these pattern pieces, were made current in 1672. See under that year. ° Leake, page 371.

It was, doubtless, expected that the provisions of this Act would secure to the Mint a constant supply of Bullion, but experience has shewn that they have produced an effect directly contrary to the intention of the framers of the Bill.

As this Statute is still in force, and as its influence has been most fatal to the interests of the Mint, I shall give the principal provisions at length.

It begins with the following statement: Whereas it is obvious, that the plenty of Gold and Silver of *The London Gazette of* this Kingdom is of great advantage to trade and commerce, for the increase whereof your Majesty *Oct. 7. 1666* in your princely wisdom and care hath been graciously pleased to bear out of your revenue half the *contains a* charge of the coinage of Silver Money<sup>r</sup>: for the *proclamation* preventing of which charge to your Majesty, and *against a* the encouragement of the bringing Gold and Silver *false Report* into the Realm, to be converted into the current *that there* Money of this your Majesty's Kingdom, we your *was an in-* Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects do give and *tent to raise* grant unto your Majesty the rates, duties, or impositions following, and do beseech your Majesty that *the value of* it may be enacted, and be it enacted, &c. *the Coin of* *the Kingdom*

The provisions are these: That all persons who should bring Bullion, &c. to the Mint, after the 20th day of December, 1666, to be there melted down and coined, should have the same there assayed, melted down, and coined with all convenient speed, without any defalcation, diminution; or charge for the assaying, coinage, or waste in coinage, and should receive in return, an equal

<sup>r</sup> I have not been able to discover when, or in what manner, his Majesty took upon himself to pay one half of the expense of the coinage of Silver.

weight of the current Coins of the Kingdom for Bullion, &c. of the fineness of standard, or Crown Gold, or of the fineness of sterling Silver, or in proportion for Bullion of greater or less fineness.

That there should be no undue preference in point of assaying or coinage, but that all Gold and Silver brought in and delivered into the Mint, should be assayed, coined, and delivered out to the respective importers, according to the order and time in which they were brought in.

That the Master Worker of the Mint should give to the bringers in of Bullion, &c. to the Mint, a note of the weight, fineness, and value thereof, together with the day of its delivery at the Mint.

That no confiscation, forfeiture, seizure, attachment, stop, or restraint, whatsoever, should be made in the said Mint or Mints, of any Gold or Silver brought in to be coined, for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of mart or reprisal, or war with any foreign nation, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever ; but that they should truly and with all convenient speed be coined and delivered out, according to the directions of the Act.

That in order to defray the expenses of coinage an imposition should be set upon wines, vinegar, cyder, or beer imported.

That the Money leviable by the Act should not be applied to any use whatsoever, except the defraying the expenses of the Mint or Mints.

That of the said Money no more should be issued in any one year for the fees and salaries of the Officers of the Mint, and for repairs of building, and for necessaries for assaying, &c. than three thousand

Pounds, and that the overplus should be employed towards the expense of assaying, &c. and the buying in of Gold and Silver to coin, and not otherwise.

That Dame Barbara Villiers, widow, should receive, out of the Money leviable by the Act, a sum not exceeding six hundred Pounds in any one year, in lieu of a grant by letters patent, dated August the 20th, 1660, of the sum of two Pence by tale out of every pound weight troy of Silver Money from thenceforth to be coined, during the term of twenty-one years\*.

1667. About this time there was a great scarcity of Money, and Dollars and Pieces of Eight were bought up by the goldsmiths and bankers, who usurped the office of the King's Exchangers, for four Shillings and three Pence a-piece, and, instead of being brought into the Mint as the framers of the

\* Statute 18 C. II. chap. 5. "Sir Dudley North was infinitely scandalised at the folly of this law, which made Bullion and coined Money par; so that any man might gain by melting; as when the price of Bullion riseth, a Crown shall melt into five Shillings and six Pence; but, on the other side, nothing could ever be lost by coining; for upon a glut of Bullion, he might get that way too, and, upon a scarcity, melt again: and no kind of advantage, by encrease of Money, as was pretended, like to come out. The reasons why the scheme prevailed, were first, that the Crown got by the Coinage Duty; next, that the Goldsmiths, who gained by the melting trade, were advancers to the Treasury, and favourites. The Country Gentlemen are commonly full of one profound mistake, which is, that if a great deal of Money be made, they must, of course, have a share of it; such being the supposed consequence of what they call plenty of Money. So little do assemblies of men follow the truth of things in their deliberations; but shallow, unthought prejudices carry them away by shoals. In short, the Bill passed, and the effects of it have been enough seen and felt; however, the evil hath been since in some sort, but not wholly, remedied." [Life of Sir Dudley North, page 179.]

Coinage Act expected they would be, were sent away, as fast as they came, to France, for four Shillings and ten Pence, and to Ireland and Scotland for five Shillings, which made the Mint stand still, whilst Ireland and Scotland were full of Dóllars, &c. and England had none, or very few of them, or but little of other Money, and was ready to starve or perish for want of them. These are the words of Fabian Philipps, who proposed to coin Money of base metal, to be truly satisfied, when it had run its course, in good current Money, raised by a tax for that purpose<sup>t</sup>.

Fortunately, however, the Government had the virtue, or the good sense, to withstand this proposal, so enticing to a needy State, and proceeded no further in the debasement of the Coins than to a small reduction in the standard of the Gold, which took place in the year 1670.

1669. Propositions for a general Farthing by Prince Rupert and Lord Henry Howard, and others also by Elias Palmer, were taken into consideration in the Treasury Chamber, and on account of their importance, submitted to his Majesty, on the 9th of August. The tenor of these propositions is not known<sup>u</sup>.

1670. By the terms of an Indenture now made, Crown Gold, of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, was to be coined into forty-four Pounds ten

<sup>t</sup> An expedient to pay the Forces without Money. By Fabian Philipps. *Archæologia*, vol. XIII. p. 191. He says that the Money was melted down by the unlawful tricks, and then introduced trade of Goldsmiths, in order to make Plate to furnish every alehouse, or the inferior ranks of people.

<sup>u</sup> Snelling's Copper Coinage, p. 36.



Shillings by tale ; viz. into Pieces to run for ten Shillings, twenty Shillings, forty Shillings, or five Pounds a-piece ; and a pound of Silver, of the old standard, into three Pounds two Shillings by tale, viz. into Crowns, Half Crowns, Shillings, Half-Shillings, Groats, Half-Sixpences, Half-Groats, and Pence<sup>v</sup>.

In the preceding year, the Scottish Parliament made some alterations in the Act concerning the Bullion. By which all native commodities were exempted from that payment ; twelve Shillings Scots, for each ounce, might be paid by the importers of certain articles specified in the Act, or if Bullion were actually delivered, the importer was to receive for every ounce of twelve Deniers fine three Pounds ten Pennies Scots of his Majesty's Coin. And as by this Act the importers were left to their choice to pay Bullion or Money at the rate of twelve Shillings the ounce, and thereby the General and Master of the Mint were obliged to import their stock of Bullion themselves, the Act ordained that they should be obliged to coin the Bullion so imported by them, and to make the same pass his Majesty's Irons<sup>w</sup>.

1670-1. The scarcity of Money at this time formed one of the topicks of Lord Lucas's severe speech against the Government, in the House of Lords, on the 22d of February, on the second reading of the Subsidy Bill (for granting one twentieth of all estates), in the presence of his Majesty.

His Lordship began by stating the disappointment of all those hopes under the impression of

<sup>v</sup> Lowndes, page 55.

<sup>w</sup> Scottish Acts, second Parliament of Charles II. chap. 8. Act concerning the Bullion.

which his Majesty had been recalled to the exercise of the regal power; that the burdens of his subjects, instead of being lightened, had been increased, whilst their strength to support them was diminished; that in the times of the late usurping Powers, though the taxes were great, yet there was plenty of Money throughout the Nation to pay them with. "Now," says he, "there is nothing of this: brick is required of us, and no straw allowed to make it with. For that our lands are thrown up, and corn and cattle are of little value, is notorious to all the world. And it is evident that there is scarcity of Money; for all the Parliament Money called Breeches (a fit stamp for the Coin of the Rump) has wholly vanished; the King's Proclamation, and the Dutch, have swept it all away, and of his now Majesty's Coin there appears but very little; so that, in effect, we have none left for common use, but a little *lean-coined Money*, of the late three former Princes: and what supply is preparing for it, my Lords? I hear of none, unless it be of Copper Farthings; and this is the metal that is to *vindicate*, according to the inscription on it, *the Dominion of the four Seas*." \*

He alludes to the legend of the patterns which bear the date 1665, the motto of which was much too high-sounding for the meanness of the metal.

1672. As no Farthings, nor Farthing Tokens, were issued during the Usurpation, small change began to be so extremely scarce, that private persons were

\* Speech, printed at Middleburg, 4to. 1673. I know not when it was first published; but it appears, from an Address to the Reader which is prefixed to this edition (printed after his death), that it was burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

under the necessity of striking their own Tokens. This practice, however necessary it might be, was nevertheless contrary to Law, and previous to the 25th of July divers persons were taken into custody for offences of that kind, in order to a severe prosecution; but upon their humble submission, and promise not to offend in that manner in future, their offence was remitted. And to the end that none might, through ignorance, incur the danger and penalties to which such practices were liable, notice *The Proclam.* was given in the Gazette, that it was his Majesty's *in the Gaz.* pleasure that no person or persons should for the *against private* future make, coin, exchange, or use, any Farthings *persons who* or Tokens, except such as should be coined in his *have stamped* Majesty's Mint, his Majesty having given directions *Pence, Halfp.* for the speedy making a considerable quantity of *and Farthings* Farthings, to be made current for exchange of *is dated Aug.* Monies, by his Proclamation, which was stated to *16. 1672.* be then preparing for that purpose<sup>y</sup>.

It was issued upon the 16th of August, and made current, not only the Farthings mentioned in the Advertisement above, but Halfpence also. They were in type exactly similar to the patterns of 1665, (the motto of which was so severely satirized by Lord Lucas,) but with the more modest inscription of BRITANNIA only on the Reverse.

The reason for making them current was stated to be, the necessity which existed of superseding the private Tokens for Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings, by which his Majesty's subjects had been greatly defrauded. In order to prevent those abuses, his

<sup>y</sup> Advertisement, London Gazette, July 25, 1672. From a MS copy in Snelling's View of the Copper Coinage, in the Library of the late Dr. Hunter.

Majesty had not only directed a severe prosecution of the offenders, but had likewise commanded his Officers of the Mint to coin many thousand Pounds of sterling Silver into single Pence and Twopences, for the smaller traffick and commerce; hoping, by both these means, to have totally suppressed the unlawful practices of such offenders. Since which time, however, it had been found, that the mischief still increased, partly by the small Silver Money being bought in and hoarded up, so that there might be a scarcity thereof in common payments; but chiefly, by the vast profit attending these Tokens, for which the utterers of them chose to run any hazards of Law, rather than quit the hopes of their private lucre.

His Majesty, therefore, considered that his subjects would not have accepted those private Tokens, unless there had been some kind of necessity for such small Coins to be made for public use, which could not well be done in Silver, nor safely in any other metal, unless the intrinsick value of the Coin should be equal, or near, to the current value; and accordingly commanded Halfpence and Farthings to be coined, which should contain as much Copper in weight as should be of their true intrinsick value respectively, the charges of coining and uttering being only deducted. Those Coins to be current, from and after the date of the Proclamation, in all payments under the value of Sixpence, and not otherwise.

And all persons who should, after the first day of September, make, vend, or utter, any other kind of Pence, Halfpence, Farthing, or other Pieces of Brass, Copper, or other base metal, other than the Coins

authorized above, or should offer to counterfeit any of his Majesty's Halfpence or Farthings, was to be chastised with exemplary severity <sup>z</sup>.

On the 22d of that month, notice was given, by public advertisement in the London Gazette, that his Majesty's Farthings lately made current by Proclamation, would hereafter, for some time, be daily uttered at an Office appointed for that purpose in Fenchurch-street, near Mincing-lane, from nine o'clock in the forenoon until twelve, and from two in the afternoon till five. And all persons were to take notice, that his Majesty had given strict orders to the Officers, who were to deliver out the said Farthings, not to receive any clipt or counterfeit Money in exchange for them, but to return the clipt Money, and to cause all counterfeit to be struck through, or cut in pieces, in the presence of the parties who should bring and offer the same <sup>a</sup>.

Although the Halfpence were declared to be current, together with the Farthings, by the Proclamation, yet it appears that some delay had taken place in the Coinage for them; for notice was given by advertisement, on the 26th of August, that the Farthing-office would not be opened in that week again until Friday; and that in future it would constantly be opened every Tuesday and Friday, and that none of his Majesty's Halfpence had then been delivered out, nor would they be ready until after the following Christmas <sup>b</sup>.

The time for delivery of the Farthings was still

<sup>z</sup> Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>a</sup> London Gazette, August 22, 1672. From Snelling's MS. before referred to.

<sup>b</sup> Id. August 26, 1672. Ibid.

farther contracted on the 23d of September, and confined to Tuesday only in each week <sup>c</sup>.

As the time limited for the operation of the Act for the encouraging of Coinage, would expire with the termination of the Session of that Parliament which met in 1671, and continued to sit in the year 1672, it was found expedient to renew it, and accordingly a Statute was made for that purpose. The preamble set forth, that great advantage had accrued to the Kingdom by the former Act, for that very great quantities of Gold and Silver had been brought into the realm, and converted into the Coins thereof, by reason of the encouragement which was given thereby. That unless that Act were renewed, the encouragement, which was therein given to Coinage would cease, and so the Kingdom would be deprived for the future, of so great a good as it had for the years last past enjoyed. It was therefore enacted, that the said Act should continue in force for seven years, from and after the determination of that Session of Parliament, and until the end of the first Session of Parliament then next following, and no longer <sup>d</sup>.

About this time small change was become very scarce in Ireland, and numbers of private persons, and some towns, coined Copper Tokens <sup>e</sup>.

1673. This scarcity was occasioned chiefly by the exportation of the Money, which was carried to such an excess that the Lord Lieutenant and Council issued a Proclamation, upon the 28th of July, in

<sup>c</sup> London Gazette, September, 1672. From Snelling's MS. before referred to.

<sup>d</sup> Statute 25 Charles II. chap. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Simon, page 53.

this year, to enforce the Statutes already made for restraining such practices, and to forbid the carrying any Money, or plate, &c. out of the Kingdom, by any person whatsoever, without license, excepting so much as should be necessary for his reasonable expenses, which he should be bound to discover whenever he should be thereunto warned by any of his Majesty's Searchers, under pain of incurring the forfeiture by the said Statutes limited and appointed, the same being the value of the Money, &c. exported.

And the Searchers of his Majesty's Ports were strictly charged to be careful and vigilant in the execution of the said Statutes<sup>f</sup>.

The immense profit which arose from the issue of illegal Tokens, occasioned such an overflow of them in Ireland, where they were made in all or most of the Cities and corporate and market Towns, that they became an intolerable grievance in that Kingdom, and all persons were forbidden by Proclamation, dated October 17, at their peril, to make any Tokens whatsoever, without his Majesty's license<sup>g</sup>.

In England also the same practice still prevailed; for some persons, encouraged no doubt by the lenity which had formerly been shewn, did, notwithstanding the Proclamation which gave currency to the Halfpence and Farthings in 1672, forbear to call in their private Farthings, and still presumed to make use of and to utter the same, to the defrauding of his Majesty's subjects, and to the hindering the vending of those Coins which his Majesty had provided for necessary change. It was, in consequence,

<sup>f</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LIX.

<sup>g</sup> Id. No LX.

declared by a Proclamation which was issued upon the 5th of December, that, after the 2d of February next ensuing, strict inquiry should be made for all offenders, and that such as were discovered should be severely punished, as well the makers as the venders or utterers of any Halfpence, &c. other than those authorized and allowed by Proclamation<sup>h</sup>.

1673-4. All this, however, seems to have been insufficient, as appears from the following Advertisement, which bears date upon the 20th of that month: "His Majesty having been informed that divers retailers and shopkeepers, in several Cities, Towns, and Corporations of this Kingdom, do continue to utter, in exchanges and payments, Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings, of their own making, in contempt of his Majesty's Proclamation, and contrary to Law, to the great injury and abuse of his Majesty's good people, it was ordered by his Majesty in Council that the Judges should be acquainted therewith, that they might give the same in charge to the Grand Juries in the several Assizes of the respective Counties, that all offenders therein might be severely prosecuted and punished according to their demerits; and for the better and more speedy furnishing his Majesty's people with Copper Farthings and Halfpence, his Majesty was further pleased to order that there should be a daily delivery of them, at the Farthing Office in Fenchurch Street, London, to all such as shall desire the same."<sup>i</sup>

1674. The circulation of private Tokens, however, still continued; but it was probably checked

<sup>h</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

<sup>i</sup> London Gazette, February 23, 1673-4. Snelling's MS. quoted above.



by a Proclamation which was issued upon the 15th of December, and enjoined the prosecution of all such persons as should make or utter any Farthings, Halfpence, or Pieces of Brass, or other base metals, with private stamps. From that time I have met with no further notice of the illegal Tokens<sup>j</sup>.

5.  
\* Pence  
+ monies  
(see Gazette)

Coins were struck in Scotland in this year<sup>k</sup>.

The state of the Coinage in Ireland at last forced itself upon the serious attention of the Government. A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant [the Earl of Essex], addressed to the Lord Ranelagh, represented, that a plan to supply that kingdom with lawful Farthings had been for some little time under consideration; but that, after his Lordship's departure from Ireland, another scheme had been offered to the Lord Lieutenant, which, in his opinion, was more reasonable than that upon which he had discoursed with Lord Ranelagh, whilst he was in Dublin.

This second plan<sup>l</sup> was inclosed in his letter, for consideration by the Government in England, and was as follows:

That the undertakers should furnish the kingdom with Farthings of the same weight and fineness with those of England, and, by the next Midsummer, should import such a quantity of Copper blocks, or chips, as might possibly, with two presses, be coined by the Spring ensuing.

The undertakers to be at all charges whatsoever

<sup>j</sup> London Gazette, December 17, 1674. Snelling's MS. quoted above.

<sup>k</sup> See Silver Coins, Plate XLII. Nos 1 and 4, and the Description of the Plates.

<sup>l</sup> The conditions of the first plan are not known.

respecting the Coinage, and also to run all the hazard of bringing over such a quantity of Copper; and to give such impression, or stamp, as his Excellency and the Honourable Board of Council should think fit. But whereas the Copper blocks, when brought from Sweden, would cost within three Pence Halfpenny the pound weight of what they would pass for when coined, which would be but little more than sufficient to pay the charges of Coinage, which his Majesty had taken into consideration, and had ordered the sum of fifteen thousand Pounds to pay for Copper blocks to carry on the said work in England, the undertakers did not insist on any advance Money, but, in lieu thereof, craved an allowance of four hundred Pounds a-year salary, for three years, towards the charge and interest of their disbursements; and that the Copper to be imported, for such his Majesty's service, might be freed from the Duties of Custom and Excise, as the same had also been allowed in England<sup>m</sup>.

But, notwithstanding the Lord Lieutenant's opinion of the reasonableness of this offer, and his representation (in a subsequent letter to Lord Ranelagh, dated on the 10th of March following) of what the Country suffered under the want of small Money legally authorized, and his wishes that the proposal might be considered, and orders given therein, it does not appear that it was ever accepted<sup>n</sup>.

In consequence of the representations of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland to his Majesty, respecting the foreign Coins then current in that kingdom, they were authorized (by his Majesty's

<sup>m</sup> Simon, Appendix No. LXI.

<sup>n</sup> Id. page 54.

Letter, dated on the 31st of August 1672,) to make such alterations in the current value of them as should seem expedient; but were not to issue their Proclamation for that purpose until it had been submitted to his Majesty's view and approbation.

1674-5. Accordingly, the form of a Proclamation was transmitted to England, on the 20th of February in this year, whereby the Portugal Crusadoes, weighing fourteen pennyweights, were to be raised from three Shillings to three Shillings and ten Pence, and the Half-Crusadoes in proportion; at which rate they were to be made current as if they were sterling Money of England, with an allowance of three Pence for each pennyweight which might be deficient.

No person was to be obliged to receive them unless they were of the weight above-mentioned, or that the aforesaid allowance were made for defect of weight °.

Notwithstanding the Proclamation against exporting Gold and Silver out of the kingdom of Ireland was published so lately as in the year 1673, yet the practice still continued, and it was found neces-

° Simon, Appendix, No LXII. At this time there were in circulation the Portugal Crusadoes above-mentioned; and also another species which weighed only eleven pennyweights. These two went usually together at three Shillings a-piece, and for this reason: the merchants bringing over a great quantity of the worser sort, the stamps whereof were like those of the better kind, and uttering them at three Shillings and eight Pence, the value at which the better sort was fixed by Proclamation, the people discovered the fraud, and would take neither the one nor the other at more than three Shillings. The two being thus current together, the Goldsmiths culled out the weightier, and melted them down. [Simon, as above.]

sary again to prohibit it. This was done by a Proclamation, which was issued upon the 26th of July 1675, nearly in the words of that which was made about two years before, but with this addition, that the Lords Justices and Council would take care that the discoverers should, for their encouragement, be duly satisfied; *i. e.* should receive their share of the penalty allotted to them by the Statutes, which were now once more enforced <sup>p</sup>.

In this year Coins were struck for Scotland. They were called Dollars, running for fifty-six Shillings Scottish each, with Halves, Quarters, Eighths, and Sixteenths. From a passage in an Act of Parliament, in the year 1696, it appears that standard Silver was computed in these Coins at three Pounds and four Shillings the ounce Scottish; from whence the standard weight of the Dollar should have been nearly 412 troy grains and one third, to which weight the pieces very nearly answer. It should therefore seem that they were intended to be of the same weight as those which were coined in 1665, *viz.* 413 troy grains, and that the difference of their value only arose from the increase of the nominal price of Silver in Scotland. These Coins were continued until the King's demise <sup>q</sup>.

1677. In this year the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland received information that divers Merchants, as well strangers as others, had lately brought into that kingdom several pieces of Dutch Coin, commonly known by the name of New Lion Dollars, which were stamped with a lion rampant

<sup>p</sup> Simon, Appendix No LXIII.

<sup>q</sup> Folkes, page 150. See Silver Coins, Plate XLII. Nos 5—9, for specimens of the Dollar, and its parts, of different dates.

on one side, and a man with an escutcheon (charged with a lion) covering his lower parts, on the other side, coined in the years 1674, 1675, and 1676, with this motto, CONFIDENS DOMINO NON MOVETUR, over the head of the lion, and the year of our Lord in the same round: and that they had dispersed and uttered them at the rate of four Shillings and nine Pence a-piece, although they were intrinsically worth no more than three Shillings and four Pence Farthing sterling, or, in proportion to the Spanish Money then current in that kingdom, three Shillings and nine Pence; they being found, upon the assay, worse than the standard of England by two ounces five pennyweights in the pound weight.

*The Gazette of July 11. 1677 contains an Advertisement respecting the issue of the remainder of the Copper Farthings and Halfpence formerly coined in the Tower.*

As none of those pieces were, at any time, allowed to be current by the Government, the Lord Lieutenant and Council did, by Proclamation dated April the 9th, give notice, that none of his Majesty's Officers of Revenue, nor any other person whatsoever, was by law required or enforced to receive any such Coins<sup>r</sup>.

The introduction of these Coins into Ireland seems to prove that a great want of regular currency was experienced in that kingdom, although the English Mint was plentifully supplied with Bullion<sup>s</sup>.

1678. The English Merchants trading to the East Indies did in this reign strike Silver Money in

<sup>r</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXIV.

<sup>s</sup> A Pamphlet of that time, boasting of the happiness of Britain, says, "If we have a Mint employed with more Gold and Silver than in a considerable time they can well coin; if," &c. &c. "then we have more wealth now than ever we had at any time before the restoration of his sacred Majesty." [England's Great Happiness; or, a Dialogue between Content and Complaint, 4to. Lond. 1677, p. 19.]

India, for the use of their Factory at Bombaim, formerly a settlement of the Portuguese, but yielded up to his Majesty upon his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal in 1662<sup>t</sup>.

I have not been able to discover the time when the License to coin this Money was granted to the Company, but the earliest of the Coins that are known bear the date of 1678<sup>u</sup>.

1679. The scarcity of small change in Ireland appears still to have continued, without any further steps having been taken by the Government to provide a necessary supply; for in this year a Copper Halfpenny was struck in Dublin, of the bigness of our present Halfpenny. It has on one side the arms of that city, with the date over it, and this inscription, THE DUBLIN HALF PENNIE; and on the other the harp crowned, with LONG LIVE THE KING<sup>x</sup>.

1680. On the 1st of March, in this year, it was thought expedient to forbid, by Proclamation, at Edinburgh, the exportation of Gold and Silver Thread, for the purpose, as the Proclamation expresses it, of the increase of Money<sup>y</sup>.

And on the 4th of the same month another Proclamation was issued for raising the current value of the Scotch Coins.

It began with stating, that, in the year 1591, the ounce of coined Silver was raised in value to 42 Shillings Scots, being of eleven deniers fine, and in 1619 to three Pounds ten Pennies and two sixth

<sup>t</sup> Folkes, p. 112.

<sup>u</sup> These Coins were Rupees and Fanams. See Supplement, Part II. Plate VI. Nos 13, 15, 16, and 17.

<sup>x</sup> Simon, page 55.

<sup>y</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

parts, at which it had continued. That in the neighbouring Kingdoms Silver was valued above that rate, which had occasioned the exportation of the greatest part of the Coin; of which merchandize had been, and still continued to be made; and the same being melted down, was imported in foreign Coin of an inferior species, both in weight and fineness. It was therefore ordained, that the ounce of coined Silver should, in future, be in value three Pounds four Shillings Scots Money.

That the four-mark Pieces, then current at fifty-three Shillings four Pence, should be fifty-six Shillings, and the smaller pieces in proportion; and that Merchants, who used to receive at the Mint, for Bullion paid in by them of eleven deniers fine, fifty-five Shillings and nine Pence Scots the ounce, should receive fifty-eight Shillings Scots. All foreign species of Coins to be current as formerly<sup>z</sup>.

Sir Thomas Armstrong, knt. having humbly represented to his Majesty, that neither his father nor himself were ever admitted to make use of the Patent heretofore granted by the late King, in the year 1660, nor could obtain allowance from the Chief Governor of Ireland to issue his Farthings, as the King's Coins, amongst his Majesty's subjects in that Kingdom; and that, having laid out considerable sums of Money for Copper, for the working thereof into Farthings, and for other incidental charges, they had sustained great loss and damage; his Majesty was therefore graciously pleased to grant, by new Letters Patent, bearing date the 18th day of May in this year, to Sir Thomas Armstrong,

<sup>z</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

knt. and Colonel George Legg, their heirs, &c. full power, during the term of twenty-one years, from the date of the Patent, to make and coin such quantity of Copper Halfpence as they might conveniently issue, during the said term, amongst his Majesty's subjects in Ireland.

The said Copper Halfpence to be made by engines, having on one side his Majesty's head, and on the other side an harp crowned, with this inscription, CAROLUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA MAGN. BRITAN. FRANC. ET HIBERN. REX, and each to weigh 107 grains troy weight<sup>a</sup>.

These Coins were to pass as Halfpence within the Kingdom of Ireland, and all persons were forbidden to counterfeit the same, or to import them, or the engines by which they were made, under pain of forfeiture, or such other punishments as the law might inflict.

For this privilege, the Patentees were to pay £16. 13s. 4d. annually. They were to have all the profits arising from the Coinage, and to be ready, at any time, to deliver the sum of twenty Shillings in Copper Halfpence for every twenty Shillings in sterling Money; and to repay twenty Shillings in sterling Money, for every twenty Shillings of the said Halfpence which should be brought unto them.

Convenient quantities of the said Halfpence were

<sup>a</sup> The Proclamation by which they were made current says 110 grains. Leake says, the Halfpence of 1680 weigh 119 grains. [Page 375.] The Halfpence bear the dates of 1680, 81, 82, 83, and 84. Those of the first three years weigh from 118 to 119 grains, and those of the last two years, about 109 to 110 grains. [Simon, p. 56.]



to be sent to as many Cities, Towns, and other places in Ireland, as the Patentees should think fit.

And the Patentees had power to enter any house, ship, &c. to search for and seize any counterfeits, or instruments used in counterfeiting<sup>b</sup>.

These Halfpence were accordingly declared to be current, by Proclamation on the 19th day of July following, and all other Tokens were forbidden to be used; with this proviso, that no person should be compelled to receive more than five Shillings of them in one hundred Pounds, and in proportion for greater or lesser sums<sup>c</sup>.

But between the date of the Letters Patent and the issuing of the above Proclamation, Sir Thomas Armstrong and George Legg, esq. had, by Indenture dated on the 17th of June, in consideration of the sum of £1500, conveyed to John Knox, Alderman of the City of Dublin, all the powers granted to them by the said Letters Patent<sup>d</sup>.

1683. Great inconveniences having arisen in Ireland from the difference of weights which were made use of for the weighing of such foreign Coins as had been made current there by Proclamation, and also from the bringing into that Kingdom great quantities of Peru Pieces of Eight, which for some

<sup>b</sup> Simon, Appendix No LXV.

<sup>c</sup> Simon, Appendix No LXVI.

<sup>d</sup> Idem, No LXVIII. The Earl of Arran [the Lord Deputy], and Sir Nicholas Armorer, knt. were parties to this instrument, as having an interest in the Patent; for the Patentees had appointed them their attornies for obtaining a renewal of the old Patent, for making Farthings and Halfpence, and for other business relating to the new Patent, and, in consideration of their care, &c. had granted to them one third part of the clear profits of such Letters Patent.

time did commonly pass, without any regard to their weight, for four Shillings and six Pence, which was more than their real value; and of late many of them had been refused to be taken for more than three Shillings, or three Shillings and six Pence, which was less than their real value. And it having been considered that these inconveniences had chiefly arisen from a want of taking due notice of the several Proclamations whereby such foreign Coins were made current, which were at that time out of print, and not easily to be had; therefore the Lord Deputy and Council thought fit, by a Proclamation dated on the 6th of June, to declare at what rates all sorts of foreign Coins were, by the Proclamations<sup>e</sup> at that time in force, to be current in that Kingdom; *viz.*

## Gold.

	Weight.		Value.		
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The Golden Rider - - - -	6	12	—	1	2 6
The Half Golden Rider - -	3	6	—	0	11 3
The Spanish or French Quadru- ple Pistole - - - - -	17	4	—	3	10 0
The Spanish or French Double Pistole - - - - -	8	14	—	1	15 0
The Spanish or French Single Pistole - - - - -	4	7	—	0	17 6
The Spanish or French Half Pis- tole . - - - -	2	3½	—	0	8 9

<sup>e</sup> Qu. what Proclamations are here alluded to? The latest which is to be found in Simon is dated October 30, 1660, and is indeed the only one of this reign, preserved by him, which gives the value of foreign Coins in Ireland. But that cannot be one of those which are referred to above, as the weight and current value vary, in many instances, from the statements in this Proclamation.

	Weight. dwt. gr.	Value. £. s. d.
The Double Ducat - - - -	4 12 —	0 18 0
The Single Ducat - - - -	2 6 —	0 9 0
The Spanish Suffrance - -	7 2 —	1 8 6
The Spanish Half Suffrance -	3 13 —	0 14 3

## Silver.

The Ducatoon - - - - -	20 16 —	0 6 0
Half and Quarter in proportion.		
The Mexico, Sevil, or Pillar Piece of Eight, the Rix Dollar, Cross Dollar, and French Lewis	17 0 —	0 4 9
Half, Quarter, and Half Quar- ter in proportion.		
The Twelfth of the French Lewis	1 12 —	0 0 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
The old Peru Piece of Eight	17 0 —	0 4 6
Half, Quarter, and Half Quar- ter in proportion.		
The Portugal Royal - - - -	14 0 —	0 3 8
Half and Quarter in proportion.		

Two Pence to be allowed for each grain deficient in the Gold Coins, and three Pence for each penny-weight wanting in the Silver, and so proportionably; and, with such allowance, they were to pass, in all payments, as if they were sterling Money and current of and in England. They were also to pass at standing weight, without weighing down the scales; and every person receiving Money might receive by which side of the scales he pleased, if he used those of the payer, or, if he used his own, then to receive by whichever side the payer should think proper to direct.

And, to the end that there might be no uncer-

tainty in the weight of Money, the Proclamation further declared, that the Lord Deputy and Council had directed all the weights necessary for the said Silver Coin, to be exactly made by Henry Paris and John Cuthbeard, of the City of Dublin. The stamps to be flat, and the circle to be smooth and polished, that no dust might gather in, and each weight to be stamped with the number of pennyweights on one side, and the crown and harp on the other, and to be sold at not more than twelve Pence for all the weights, being eight in number, *viz.* for the Ducatoon, Half-Ducatoon, whole Plate and Peru Pieces, and half and quarter Pieces thereof, a two-pennyweight, a pennyweight, and an half-pennyweight, such being sufficient to weigh the several sorts of Silver Coin<sup>f</sup> then current commonly in that Kingdom.

Standards of all those weights were to be left in the hands of the Sheriffs of Counties, Mayors, &c. of Cities, &c. for determining or preventing all differences about any weights for Money. And any persons who should pay or receive any Money by any other weights, were to be proceeded against and punished according to Law, as keepers and users of false and unlawful weights<sup>g</sup>.

“About the year 1679 or 1680, it appears there was a project set on foot to make Farthings of Tin, it being at that time cheaper than ever known to have been before; so that his Majesty had reaped no advantage, after 1666, from his prerogative of pre-emption, which was used to be farmed for £12,000 *per annum*.

<sup>f</sup> No weights seem to have been provided for the Gold Coins.

<sup>g</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXVII.

“ In order to restore this branch of the Royal Revenue, endeavours were used to come to a composition with the Miners in Cornwall, to take off all the Tin yielded by the mines, or at least 1200 tons *per annum* ; but in the first place, the Convocation could not come to such an agreement without an Act of Parliament, which should bind all particular Miners to stand to such contract as the Convention should make. And, secondly, the Farmers would not make such a bargain without covenanting with his Majesty to supply England, Ireland, and the Plantations, with Tin Farthings at 16 Pence a pound, that by the profit arising from thence they might be enabled to pay their rent.

“ But this design was opposed by the Mint as a gross cheat upon the Nation. As first, that a metal might be made white, and harder than tin, of Spelter, Arsenick, Regulus of Antimony, &c. which, when worn, would not yield two Pence a pound, and no pewterer durst use it. Secondly, that these Farthings might be coined with a hammer, mould, or vice ; and counterfeited by any tinker, plumber, smith, glazier, tinman, watchmaker, &c. Thirdly, a query being put to the Farmers, whether they would change all that were brought to them, good or bad, made by themselves or others ; and, if they agreed to that, who should allow the Country and City brewers the charge in sending them to London, in drays and waggons, with tellers. Both which being refused by them, it was thence inferred, that if the Tin Farthings were established, his Majesty must receive his Revenue of Excise, and the Duke of York his postage in them ; therefore this ruined the project for the present.

1684. " In the last year of the King, proposals were made to the Commissioners of the Treasury, by the Commissioners of the Mint, to coin a Half-penny and Farthing of Tin upon his Majesty's own account, by authority of his Majesty under the Great Seal of England; to be made of the weight of those of Copper, being about 20 Pence *per* pound, exactly stamped, and a motto to be put about their edge; the charge of making, coining, and issuing the same, about four Pence *per* pound, and one pound weight of tin about eight Pence; in all, about 12 Pence *per* pound weight; so that, if coined at 20 Pence, there would arise a profit of about 40 *per cent*.

" This being reported to his Majesty in Council at Hampton Court, May 28, was approved of by him; and Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney General, was ordered to prepare a Warrant for his Majesty's royal signature, to pass the Great Seal of England; containing a Commission and full authority to the Commissioners of the Mint to make them, according to the said Report, during his Majesty's pleasure; the Attorney General to insert all such clauses, provisions, and non obstantes, in the said Commission, as are usual in such cases.

" This Coinage consisted of no other sort but Farthings, which did not differ from those of Copper, either in type or legend: but they have a stud of Copper struck through the centre of them, and on their edge NUMMORUM FAMULUS 1684, both which methods were taken to render the counterfeiting of them more difficult; however, they were counterfeited in great numbers." <sup>h</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Snelling's View of the Copper Coinage of England, p. 36. He has quoted no authority for the above statement, and therefore I have given it in his own words.

1684-5. These Coins must have been struck before the sixth of February in that year, on which day the King died at Whitehall.

His style upon the English Gold and Silver Coins was the same as his Father's, with the addition of the Roman numerals for distinction; but on his Copper and Tin Money it was simply CAROLUS A CAROLO, and on the Reverse BRITANNIA<sup>i</sup>.

He bore upon his Great Seal the same style that his Father, Charles I. did; and it appears, with the alteration of the name only, upon all the Great Seals until the Union in the reign of Queen Anne.

The mottos upon the Coins which were struck at Pontefract by his adherents, immediately after the death of Charles I. are, POST MORTEM PATRIS PRO FILIO. Rev. HANC DEUS DEDIT. on some; whilst others bear DUM SPIRO SPERO<sup>k</sup>. His earliest Coins after his restoration have, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA, upon the Gold; and upon the Silver, CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO. These were continued until the introduction of the milled Monies, on which the style only appears, and is to be read in continuation from the Obverse to the Reverse.

On some of his Scottish Silver Coins the inscription is precisely the same as that on the milled English ones; but others have, on the Obverse, CAROLUS II. DEI GRA. and on the Reverse, SCO. ANG. FR. ET HIB. REX, with the date. The Copper Money

<sup>i</sup> On those, which were called Lord Lucas's Farthings, the motto is, QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO, and in the Exergue, BRITANNIA. The Tin Farthing has, round the edge, NUMMORUM FAMULUS.

<sup>k</sup> These have, on the Obverse, only CAROLUS SECUNDUS, 1648. See Plate XXIX.

has the same placed wholly on the Obverse, with **NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET** on the other side.

On the Silver Coins which were struck in his name in Ireland, the style appears with the addition of **F. D. &c.** whilst the Copper Halfpenny is inscribed in the same manner as his later English Silver and Gold.

His Mints were, Dublin, Edinburgh, London, and Pontefract.

#### JAMES II.

1684-5. On the death of Charles, his brother the Duke of York was immediately proclaimed by the name of James the Second.

The short and unhappy reign of this Monarch was, in almost every respect, eminently disgraceful, and in no single instance more so, than in the state to which he at length reduced the Coinage, in his Kingdom of Ireland.

Those of his Irish subjects who still retained their loyalty to him were the chief sufferers from this debasement, for it appears by a Proclamation of the 10th of July 1690, that they had in their possession the whole, or the far greater part, of his Brass Money<sup>1</sup>.

His English Money, however, escaped violation; for he was forced to abandon that Kingdom before his necessities became very urgent.

The only Indenture of this reign is of his first year, and agrees precisely with that of the 22d year of the late King<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> How different in this respect, and how praiseworthy, was the conduct of his father, who in his extremest distress never debased the standard of his Money.

<sup>m</sup> Lowndes, p. 55.



1685. On the 20th of May a Proclamation was made at Edinburgh, to forbid the importation of foreign Copper Coins, on pain of confiscation thereof, besides such other punishment as the King, or his Council, should think fit.

By this Proclamation it was ordered, that no Doyts, nor other Copper Coins from France or Holland, nor any Copper Coin, except with the royal stamp, should pass, or be received, in future; and all Customers, Waiters, Collectors, or others, were authorized to seize such Coin, and to appropriate it to their own use <sup>n</sup>.

In the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 19th of May, the Act for encouraging of Coinage, which was first passed in the 18th year of the late King, and was continued for seven years in his 22d year, and consequently expired in 1679, was revived, and continued, and to be in force for seven years from the 1st of August in this year, and until the end of the first Session of Parliament then next following. The preamble to this Statute sets forth, that great benefit and advantage had accrued to the Kingdom from the operations of that Act <sup>o</sup>.

At some time in this year, John Knox, Alderman of Dublin (to whom Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Colonel Legg (now Earl of Dartmouth) had in June 1680 assigned their patent, which was granted to them by the late King, for coining Copper Halfpence) petitioned the King that he would accept the surrender of his patent, and grant to him a new one, for the term unexpired of the former grant, un-

<sup>n</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

<sup>o</sup> Statute 1 J. II. chap. 7.

der the same yearly rent, restrictions, &c.; with this alteration only, of the figure of his Majesty, with his title, to be stamped thereon, instead of those of the late King.

His Majesty, in consideration that the said John Knox had been at great expense in providing Copper and other materials for making the said Halfpence, was pleased to issue his warrant to the Lords Justices to accept the surrender of the old patent, and to cause a new one to pass the Great Seal<sup>p</sup>, which was accordingly done on the 29th of December following<sup>q</sup>.

1686. In the second Session of the first Scottish Parliament it was enacted, "That in all time coming the species of current Coin within the kingdom of Scotland should be five Shillings, ten Shillings, twenty Shillings, forty Shillings, and sixty Shillings, Scottish pieces, to be coined of the standard and weights thereafter-mentioned." That is to say, they were all to be of the standard eleven Deniers and two grains; and the sixty Shilling piece Scottish was to weigh, according to the standard pile of weights then in the Mint, 21 deniers, 18 grains, 10 primes, and 18 seconds; or, in the ordinary denomination of weights, 14 drops and 18 grains; making almost 427 troy grains and a half; and the other pieces in proportion. By which regulation it is plain, that the ounce Scottish of their standard Silver was then coined into 3 lib. 10s. 6d. and two thirds of a Penny Scottish; and that the English Penny was then rather more than equivalent to 13 Pennies Scottish. And this was the proportion that subsisted between

<sup>p</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXIX.

<sup>q</sup> Id. No LXX.

the Coins of the two nations, until the entire completion of the Union by Queen Anne; all the Silver that was coined after this, and before that time, following the appointment of that Act of Parliament<sup>r</sup>.

The Copper Coins were to be Twopenny and Sixpenny Scots pieces, and forty of the Sixpenny pieces, and six score twelve of the Twopenny pieces, were to make a Pound. By this Statute every journey of Coin was to be tried by itself distinctly.<sup>s</sup>

It appears however that no Coins were struck under this Act until the next year, when pieces of forty, and of ten Shillings were coined<sup>t</sup>. No other Money was coined for Scotland during this reign. In the preamble to the above Statute it was stated that the King, and the estates of Parliament, had considered the great advantages which might accresce to his antient Kingdom of Scotland by encouraging the importation of Bullion to be coined in his Majesty's Mint, and that a free Coinage was of all others the greatest encouragement for that end. Certain duties were therefore imposed by the Act on various commodities as a fund to enable his Majesty to support the charge and expenses of the same, and for paying the salaries of the Officers of the Mint, amounting to twelve thousand Pounds Scots annually. The allowance to the Master of the Mint for the coinage of the Money was eighteen Pounds Scots per stone. According to this Act an assay was to

<sup>r</sup> Folkes, page 151.

<sup>s</sup> Scots Acts. First Parliament of James VII. the second Session, chap. XXIV. "Act anent an humble offer to his Majesty for an imposition upon certain commodities, for defraying the expence of a free Coinage, and other matters relating to the Mint."

<sup>t</sup> See the figures of those Coins in Plate XLII. Nos 10 and 11.

be made of every journey distinctly once every year in the month of December, at the sight of the Privy Council <sup>u</sup>.

1687-8. As the Proclamation which was published in 1683, by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, concerning the weighing of such foreign Coins as were current in that Kingdom, had not been properly obeyed, the Earl of Tyrconnel (Lord Deputy) and the Council, issued another Proclamation upon the 16th of January 1687-8, by which the provisions of the former Proclamation were ordered to be observed <sup>x</sup>.

1688. On the 23d of December the King was compelled to abdicate the government, and to retire into France.

1688-9. In the following March, however, he made a feeble attempt, in Ireland, to recover his Crown, and landed for that purpose at Kinsale, upon the 12th of that month, at the head of about 5000 French troops.

On the 24th he entered Dublin in a triumphant manner <sup>y</sup>; and on the next day raised, by Proclamation, the value of all the Coins then current in that Kingdom, in the following proportions:

Gold.					Weight.		Value.		
					dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The Golden Rider	-	-	-	-	6	12	—	1	4 0
The Half	-	-	-	-	3	6	—	0	12 0

<sup>u</sup> Scots Acts as above, note [s].

<sup>x</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXI.

<sup>y</sup> Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History of England, vol. III. p. 79.

## Gold.

	Weight, dwt. gr.	Value. £. s. d.
The French and Spanish Quad-		
ruple Pistole - - - - -	17 4 —	3 16 0
Ditto Double Pistole - - -	8 14 —	1 18 0
Ditto Pistole - - - - -	4 8 —	0 19 0
Ditto Half Pistole - - - -	2 4 —	0 9 6
The Double Ducat - - - - -	4 12 —	1 0 0
The Single Ducat - - - - -	2 6 —	0 10 0
The Spanish Suffrance - - -	7 2 —	1 11 0
Ditto Half Suffrance - - -	3 13 —	0 15 6
The Guinea - - - - -	— —	1 4 0
The Half Guinea - - - - -	— —	0 12 0

## Silver.

The Ducatoon - - - - -	20 16 —	0 6 3
The Half and Quarter in pro- portion.		
The Mexico, Sevil, or Pillar Piece of Eight, the Rix Dollar, Cross Dollar, and French Lewis	17 0 —	0 6 3
The Half, Quarter, and Half Quarter in proportion.		
The twelfth part of the French Lewis	12 —	0 0 5
The old Peru Piece of Eight -	17 0 —	0 4 9
The Half, Quarter, and Half Quarter, in proportion.		
The Portugal Royal - - - -	14 0 —	0 3 10
The Half and Quarter in pro- portion.		
The English Crown - - - -	— —	0 5 5
The English Half Crown - -	— —	0 2 8½
The English Shilling - - -	— —	0 1 1
The English Sixpence - - -	— —	0 0 6½

The remainder of this Proclamation contained the same provisions as that which was published on the 6th of June 1683<sup>z</sup>.

This is the first instance, since the Restoration, of the currency of English Money in the Kingdom of Ireland being mentioned in a Proclamation. As the Shilling was here raised to one Shilling and one Penny, it may be presumed that it was before current for twelve Pence, and consequently that the exchange between England and Ireland was at par. Gold and Silver must then have been plentiful in the latter of those Kingdoms, at the end of the reign of King Charles II.; probably occasioned by its currency being raised in 1683. But now, on the prospect of a civil war, the monied men, who were not attached to James's party, would have secured their property by escaping with it to England. In order to supply the deficiency, thus created, the value of the Guinea, as being of easier carriage than Silver Money, was raised one fifth, or twenty per cent. whilst the Silver Coins were raised no more than one twelfth, or eight and one third per cent, and other foreign Gold and Silver in proportion, that what Money he could raise might go a greater way<sup>a</sup>.

It seems probable that he brought with him from France a considerable quantity of small French Money, as on the fourth of May a Proclamation was issued to rectify the omission of French pieces of three sous and an half in the last Proclamation, and to declare that the said pieces should be paid and

<sup>z</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXII.

<sup>a</sup> Simon, page 58. This rate of currency of the English Money in Ireland is still continued.

received in all payments to and from the King, or otherwise howsoever, at the rate of three Pence Halfpenny each<sup>b</sup>.

1689. But all these expedients failing to procure a sufficient supply of Money, he coined Brass and Copper Sixpenny pieces, for the purpose, as the Proclamation dated June the 18th stated, of remedying the present scarcity of Money in the Kingdom of Ireland, and of better paying and subsisting his Majesty's standing forces, and that his subjects in that Realm might be the better enabled to pay and discharge the taxes, excise, customs, rents, and other debts and duties which were, or should be hereafter, payable to his Majesty.

These pieces were to have on one side his head, with this inscription, JACOBUS II. DEI GRATIA, and on the other side the stamp of cross sceptres, and a crown, between J. R. with VI above, and the month wherein they were coined below, with this inscription, MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIBER. REX. 1689, and fringed round. They were made current in all payments, except the Duties of Custom and Excise, upon the importation of foreign goods, Money left in trust or keeping with any person, mortgages and debts due, at that time, by record, or by bills, bonds and obligations; but to pass current for the interest which should fall due afterward for such mortgages, &c.; and also for any of the said principal debts so secured, where the debtor, or his goods, should be taken in execution. And all persons who refused to receive the same (with the above exceptions) were to be punished to the utmost rigour of the law, as contemners of the royal prerogative and command.

<sup>b</sup> Simon, Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> LXXIII.

Provided always, that the Proclamation should not be so construed as to oblige any Merchant, importing goods into the Kingdom, to receive upon the first sale of such goods, any of the said Money.

And whereas the said Money was made current for present necessity, and not intended to continue for any long time, his Majesty promised and engaged, that as soon as it should be decried and made null, he would thereupon receive from his subjects, all such Money as at that time should remain in their hands, and either allow for the same to them the full value, in whatever rents, &c. they might be indebted to him, or make them full satisfaction in Gold and Silver of the current coin of the Kingdom<sup>c</sup>.

It is to be presumed that the Coinage under the patent which was granted by the King, in 1685, to Alderman Knox, and which at this time was in the hands of Colonel Roger Moore<sup>d</sup>, was supposed to be likely to impede the circulation of this new Money, for the patent was revoked, and, on the day following this Proclamation, an order was issued for seizing all the engines, and tools for coining, and for securing any quantity of Brass or Copper fitted for the Mill, or any Money upon which the workmen might at that time be employed<sup>e</sup>. The King then set up Mints of his own, one at Limerick, in the deanery house, and the other in Dublin, in Capel Street, where there were two presses<sup>f</sup>.

In these Mints the men worked night and day; but it seems that the coinage of pieces of so low

<sup>c</sup> Simon, Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> LXXV.

<sup>d</sup> It does not appear at what time the patent was assigned to him.

<sup>e</sup> Simon, Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> LXXIV.

<sup>f</sup> Simon, p. 59. See the History of Dublin and Limerick Mints.



a value did not increase the stock of Money so fast as the King's necessities required, for Shillings and Half Crown pieces were soon after added, and made current by Proclamation upon the 27th of June, together with the Sixpences, and under the same exceptions and the same penalties upon refusal.

These new Coins had the same impress and legend as were stamped on the Sixpences, with the alteration only of the numerals expressing their respective value as XII and XXX.

It was also declared, by the Proclamation, to be high treason to counterfeit the said Money; and for encouragement to discover such counterfeiting, one moiety of the real and personal estate of the offender was promised to the informer upon conviction, provided such estate should amount in value to forty Pounds sterling, or more; and if the value of the said estate should be under forty Pounds, then that the discoverer should have, for his service therein, twenty Pounds sterling. And for the better prevention of counterfeiting the said Coins, all persons were forbidden to import into any part of the realm of Ireland, any of the said Coins, or of the said Copper or Brass Money, under the highest penalty, forfeiture, or confiscation, that any law could allow or warrant; and the discoverers of such importation were to have the full moiety of all such forfeitures, &c. And that there might be no pretence for the importation of the said Coin, the exportation of it into any Country whatsoever was forbidden, under pain of prosecution according to the utmost rigour of the law.

This Proclamation revoked those clauses in that which was issued upon the 18th of June for the

currency of the Sixpenny pieces, by which it was provided, that they were not to be received in payment of the duty for foreign commodities imported, and that the first seller of such should not be obliged to take them; and the said Sixpenny pieces were declared to be current in the same manner, and under the same exceptions, as the Twelvepenny and Half Crown pieces.

The Proclamation then proceeded to give the same assurance respecting the allowance to be made for these Coins, whenever they should be decried, as was given in the former Proclamation respecting the Sixpenny pieces <sup>g</sup>.

These Half Crowns weighed from seven pennyweights twelve grains to nine pennyweights fifteen grains; the Shillings from three pennyweights fifteen grains to four pennyweights fifteen grains; and the Sixpences from one pennyweight twenty grains to two pennyweights eight grains. Some of them are known for every month, from June 1689 to April 1690 inclusive<sup>h</sup>.

In order to induce his subjects to take this wretched Money in exchange for Coins of Gold and Silver, which it may be reasonably concluded they were not very ready to do, his Majesty was pleased to direct the Commissioners of his Mint (on the 4th of July) that one Sixpence in the Pound should be given in Copper for all Silver Money, or Gold, that should be brought to the Mint, the Silver being given in to the current value and in the full weight. The Silver or Gold brought in was to be attested by two Commissioners of the second class, or by one of them, and one of the Wardens.

<sup>g</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXVII.

<sup>h</sup> Id. page 60.

They were to expect further orders under his Majesty's hand: but in the mean time were to proceed to take what money came in<sup>i</sup>.

To supply the Mint with metal for this degraded Coinage, the Secretary of State [Lord Melfort] sent an order to Lord Mount-Cashel, Master General of the Ordnance, to deliver to the Commissioners of the Mint, two brass cannons which were then lying in the Court of Dublin Castle<sup>j</sup>. And the following letter, which strongly marks the deplorable state to which the Country was reduced, was sent to all the Collectors of his Majesty's revenue throughout the Kingdom: "We having great occasion for his Majesty's use to procure so much hammered or forged Copper and Brass as your parts can afford, and judging, by the decay of trade and desolation of the Country, that there may be a great deal in your district or part, we desire you, by yourself and Officers, to inform us presently what quantity you may be able to furnish us with, and what the current prices are of each. And whatever you can get, buy<sup>k</sup> at the best rate you can, and as soon as you have four or five hundred weight, pray send it to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Mint, at the Mint House in Capel Street, Dublin, and what you pay shall be allowed you in your accounts at the Custom House. So doing you will oblige, yours, &c."<sup>l</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXX.

<sup>j</sup> Simon, p. 60, and Appendix, No LXXVIII.

<sup>k</sup> "It seems that they not only bought, but pillaged, even the citizens kitchens, &c. because they found it difficult to get a sufficient supply of Copper or Brass for the Mint." [Answer to all that has ever been said, or insinuated, in favour of a Popish Pretender. London 12mo. 1713, page 64.]

<sup>l</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXIX.

In consequence of these letters, large quantities of Gun Metal, Brass, Copper, and Battery<sup>m</sup>, were sent into the Mint from Waterford, Limerick, and Athlone<sup>n</sup>.

The circulation of the Brass Coins having been impeded by the exceptions which were contained in the Proclamation for their currency, namely that they were not to be received for mortgages, bills, bonds, or obligations, debts due by record, and Money heretofore left in trust, these exceptions were revoked by another Proclamation on the 4th of February, 1689-90.

The promise to take these Coins at their full value, whenever their currency should be stopped, was repeated in this Proclamation<sup>o</sup>.

This Brass money was at last forced into circulation so rapidly, as to occasion a representation to the King that several persons had lying by them large sums of it, which by reason of the decay of trade and commerce occasioned by the rebellion, they could not dispose of to their advantage. His Majesty, therefore, being desirous to give all the relief he could to all his loving subjects, and for the future to coin no more of the said Money than should be absolutely necessary for his service, and convenient for the welfare of his people, was graciously pleased to declare, by Proclamation on the

<sup>m</sup> Chambers in his Dictionary explains battery to mean kettles, pots, pans, &c. made by the hammer of Brass, &c. "Workmen rated this metal at three Pence or a Groat a pound. One pound of it was coined into about five Pounds worth of Shillings, Sixpences, or Half Crowns." [Answer, as above quoted, page 61.]

<sup>n</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXXIX.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. No LXXVII.

28th of February, that all persons were at liberty to pay any sums of such Money into his Treasury, by way of loan, in sums not less than £100, with a promise that they should, on demand, be repaid in Money current in the Kingdom, at the time of making such demand; and that they should, until payment should be made, receive interest at the rate of six per cent. by the year, to be paid at the end of every six months.

The repayment of the loans, so advanced, together with the interest, was to be secured upon the Crown rents and Quit rents in the Kingdom of Ireland, which for that purpose were to be conveyed, by letters patent to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in trust for such persons for due payment of the same; with power to assign over to them, for their security, a competent proportion of the said Crown and Quit rents P.

These brass Monies being found insufficient to supply the expenses of his Army, &c. a Warrant was issued, on the 1st of March, to the Commissioners of the Mint of Ireland, for the Coinage of two sorts of Money of white mixed metal; the one about the bigness of a Shilling, having on one side the head of the King, with JACOBUS II.<sup>dux</sup> DEI GRATIA, and on the other side a piece of Prince's Metal fixed in the middle, with the impression of the harp and crown, and this inscription, MAG : BRI : FRA : ET : HIB : REX, with the year of our Lord, This Piece to pass for a Penny. The other, of the same metal and stamp, and with the like inscription, of the bigness of a Sixpence, to pass for a Halfpenny <sup>q</sup>.

P Simon, Appendix, No LXXXI.

<sup>q</sup> Id. No LXXXIII.

1690. These were made current by Proclamation on the 28th of the same month, with a promise to allow for them, whenever they should be decried, the value, at the rates aforesaid, in rents, &c. due to his Majesty, or to make full satisfaction for them, in Gold or Silver of the current Coin of the Kingdom. And all persons were enjoined to receive them, on pain of being punished as contemners of the royal prerogative and command<sup>r</sup>.

A further Coinage of white metal was ordered to be current on the 21st of the next month. It consisted of Crown Pieces, having on the Obverse the King's effigies, or figure, on horseback, with this inscription round, JAC. II. DEI GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET HIB. REX; and on the Reverse a piece of Prince's Metal fixed in the middle, with the impression of the crown surrounded with the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with this inscription round, CHRISTO VICTORE TRIUMPHO, ANNO DOM. 1690<sup>a</sup>; and round about the edge this inscription, MELIORIS TESSERA FATI, ANNO REGNI SEXTO. They were to be received in all payments for five Shillings, under the same penalties as were inserted in the Proclamation for the currency of the Penny and Halfpenny of the same metal.

The counterfeiters of these pieces were to be proceeded against as guilty of High Treason, and the same rewards were offered for discovery, as were promised in the Proclamation by which the Brass Half Crowns and Shillings were made current in 1689. The Proclamation then proceeded to state, that

<sup>r</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXXIV.

<sup>a</sup> The date, upon the Coins, is across the area, between the four shields of arms.

for publick convenience, it had been thought fit to reduce the tweldepenny pieces, and Half Crown pieces of Copper and Brass, to be coined in future, to a less weight than formerly, without any alteration of the impressions or superscriptions, and yet the said pieces to continue of the same value that they had hitherto passed at; and therefore it was declared that those Pieces so reduced should pass at the same value with the like pieces of Copper and Brass Money formerly coined, though not of equal weight. The usual engagement, to make full satisfaction for this Money, was repeated<sup>t</sup>.

Of these Crowns of white metal, a few only, if any, were ever issued, but a bag of one hundred and fifty of them was found in the Treasury of Dublin, after King James had left Ireland<sup>u</sup>.

Simon says, that this Crown is so exceedingly scarce, that the learned Bishop Nicolson thought it had not been made current, and that the success at the Battle of the Boyne had prevented the publishing of the above Proclamation; but as, besides the printed Proclamation in the Books of the Council Office, and one in his own possession, he had seen two or three others in different hands, he thinks it evident that it was made publick, and consequently that this Coin was issued out. And, moreover, from the 25th of April to the 1st of July, there was time sufficient to issue a good deal of that Money, and even more than of the Copper and Brass Crowns which were coined about two or three months after<sup>v</sup>.

But I apprehend that Mr. Simon has gone a little

<sup>t</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXXV.

<sup>u</sup> Leake, page 382.

<sup>v</sup> Simon, page 61.

too far, in inferring from the publication of the Proclamation the certainty of the issuing of the Money. Indeed, it appears that none of it was in currency before the 10th of July 1690 ; for in the Proclamation of that date, by which King William reduced the Money coined by James to its intrinsick value, these Coins are not enumerated.

On the 9th of June, the interest of 6 *per cent.* which had been offered, on the 28th of February, to induce persons to pay the Brass Monies into the Treasury, by way of loan, was raised to 10 *per cent.* (such being stated to be the usual rate of interest at that time in Ireland,) with the choice of lending their Money either upon the Crown and Quit rents, as before, or upon lands, mortgages, or incumbrances, belonging to his Majesty <sup>x</sup>.

By a Proclamation of the 15th of June, the Half-Crown Pieces of Copper and Brass, coined before the month of May immediately preceding, were ordered to be no longer current in the City or County of the City of Dublin, after the last day of the said month of June, nor in any part of the County of Leinster after the 15th of July next following, nor in any other part of the Kingdom of Ireland after the last day of the said month of July ; but the Commissioners of the Mint in Dublin and Limerick were to exchange them for other Money <sup>y</sup>.

This measure was preparatory to the re-stamping those Coins with the Die which was used for the white metal Crown Pieces, and issuing them at the value of five Shillings. At that rate they were commanded to be taken in all payments, and the coun-

<sup>x</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXXII. <sup>y</sup> Id. Appendix, No LXXXVI.



terfeiting them was forbidden, upon pain of being proceeded against as guilty of high treason. The Proclamation concluded with the usual promise to make full satisfaction for the Coins hereafter<sup>z</sup>.

His Majesty's new-coined Money being now greatly depreciated, Gold and Silver were bought up at very high rates, to (as the Proclamation expresses it) the great disparagement of the Brass and Copper Money current in the Kingdom. It was therefore commanded, by Proclamation dated also on the 15th of June, that no person should in future presume, upon pain of death, to give any higher or greater rate for any Pistole or French Lewis of Gold, than thirty Shillings in Brass or Copper Money, and so in proportion for any other piece of French or Spanish Gold ; nor for a Guinea more than thirty-eight Shillings of such Money ; nor for any Crown Piece of Silver more than seven Shillings and six Pence ; and so in proportion for other English Gold or Silver Money. The discoverer of offences against this Ordinance, was to have all the Gold and Silver so by him made out to have been exchanged, above the rates prescribed above<sup>a</sup>.

The Battle of the Boyne, which was fought on the first of the following month, prevented these severe

<sup>z</sup> Id. No LXXXVII. There appears to be some omission in this Proclamation, as it is printed by Simon ; for no penalty is denounced against those who should refuse the Coins (which is to be found in all the former Proclamations) unless it was intended to extend the penalty of high treason to the refusers, as well as to the counterfeiters, of the Money. That this was the intention seems probable from the severity of the next following Proclamation, which denounces the pain of death on those who should presume to give an extra price for Gold or Silver Money.

<sup>a</sup> Simon, Appendix, No LXXXVIII.

provisions from producing any fatal effects, and dispossessed James of the small remains of regal power which he had hitherto retained. After he had abandoned Ireland, his adherents maintained themselves for a short time in Limerick, and, during the siege of that place, struck some Copper and Brass Money in his name. It bore the impression of his head on the one side, with JACOBUS II. DEI GRATIA; and on the other Ireland, represented by a woman sitting, and resting upon an harp, and holding up a cross in her right hand, with this inscription, HIBERNIA 1691<sup>b</sup>. It was grained round the edge; and was, in fact, no other than the larger Coins which had been struck there molten down, and coined anew; whilst some of the smaller, as the Shillings, were only re-stamped, the former legend being still visible on many of them<sup>c</sup>.

“It appears, from Archbishop King’s State of the Protestants in Ireland, and from the Coins extant, that the metal of which James’s Irish Money was made was very bad, being a mixture of old guns, old broken bells, old Copper, Brass, and Pewter, taken from the absentees, old kitchen-furniture, and the refuse of metals molten down together, and valued by the workmen in the Mint at no more than three or four Pence the pound weight; but when coined into Sixpenny, Twelvepenny, and Half-Crown Pieces, and made current by arbitrary power, it passed at the rate of five Pounds sterling the pound weight, or eleven thousand two hundred Pounds the ton; when at the real value, namely, four Pence the Pound weight, this compound metal

<sup>b</sup> See Supplement, Part II.

<sup>c</sup> Simon, page 64.

was not worth more than thirty-seven Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence the ton. But when the Half-Crown was re-stamped, and made current at five Shillings, and the Shilling, or Twelvepenny Piece, made near one half lighter, then did a ton of this metal fetch in twenty-two thousand four hundred Pounds sterling, and a pound weight of it pass at the rate of ten Pounds sterling.

“Archbishop King observes, that in twelve months time, from the first setting-up of the Mint to the 1st of July 1690, there was coined of this Money to the value of £965.375 sterling. Dean Story says, there was not much above one million one hundred thousand Pounds: but it appears, from an abstract of that Coinage, that the whole sum amounted to £1,596,799. 0s. 6d. The account stands thus:

Weight of metal.			Value.		
lbs.	oz.		£.	s.	d.
62,422	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	coined into large Shillings - -	245,879	17	0
110,308	15	————— large Half-Crowns -	443,498	10	0
172,731	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	————— large Shillings and			
		Half-Crowns -	689,378	7	0
14,080	3	————— small Sixpences - -	49,042	6	6
8,914	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	————— small Shillings - -	41,800	0	0
21,267	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	————— small Half-Crowns	127,200	0	0
<hr/>			<hr/>		
389,724	2 $\frac{1}{4}$		1,596,799	0	6

“This weight makes one hundred seventy-three tons nineteen hundred two quarters and twenty-one pounds, at four Pence *per* pound, thirty-seven Shillings and four Pence *per* hundred, or thirty-seven Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence *per* ton, and amounts to six thousand four hundred and ninety-five Pounds eight Shillings and four Pence, which when coined, and issued as current Money,

produced, as above, more than one million and an half; and as we must add to this sum what was produced by the raising of the large Half-Crown Pieces from two Shillings and Sixpence to five Shillings, we shall find in the second article of this abstract an increase of four hundred and forty-three thousand four hundred and ninety-eight Pounds ten Shillings; and, supposing but one half of the large Shillings in the first article to have been reduced in weight, we shall have another increase of £.122,939. 18s. 6d.; a very moderate computation, if we consider the number of these large Shillings and small Half-Crowns mentioned in the first, third, and sixth articles of this abstract.

“ These two sums added to the above amount will give us £.2,163,237. 9s. the produce of £.6,495, the real value of the metal.

“ There might be a further addition to this large sum, if we knew what proportion of the third article was coined into Half-Crowns and re-stamped into Crowns, which consequently doubled in value; as also what sums were coined into white mixed-metal Crowns, in Pewter Pennies and Halfpennies.

“ Now let the impartial reader judge what a prodigious sum of Money was raised by this scheme in so short a time, one hundred and eighty thousand two hundred sixty-nine Pounds fifteen Shillings and nine Pence *per* month. Yet, of all this, when that unhappy Prince fled from Ireland, there was but little left and found in the Mint, not above £.22,489, as appears by the accounts of Lord Coningsby, Vice Treasurer of Ireland, and for which he accounted as follows :

17,292 Copper Crowns	d.	£.	s.	d.
£4,323 0 0	valued at 1 each	72	1	0
126,503 large Half Crowns				
£15,812 17 6	valued at 1 each	527	1	11
2,489 small Crowns				
£311 2 6	valued at $\frac{3}{4}$ each	7	15	6
9,043 large Shillings				
£452 3 0	valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ each	18	16	9
4,757 small ditto				
£237 17 0	valued at $\frac{1}{4}$ each	4	19	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
6,000 Copper Sixpences				
£150 0 0	valued at $\frac{1}{4}$ each	6	5	0
4,808 Pewter Crowns				
£1,202 0 0	valued at $\frac{1}{4}$ each	5	0	2
<hr/>				
22,489 0 0	Accounted for	641	19	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>d</sup>

• In this wretched sort of Money the Popish Soldiers were paid their subsistence, and the Protestant Tradesmen and Creditors were obliged to receive it for their goods and debts; and it was reasonably computed that they lost upwards of £.60,000 a month by this cruel stratagem. The Governor of Dublin, the Provost Marshal and his Deputies, threatened to hang up all that refused it; and several were made prisoners upon the occasion <sup>e</sup>.

His style upon all his Coins is, JACOBUS II. DEI GRATIA — MAG. BR. FRA. ET HIB. REX. On the Reverse of the Coins struck at Limerick during the siege, after James had left Ireland, the figure of Ireland is placed instead of the Harp. Legend, HIBERNIA, 1691.

<sup>d</sup> Simon, page 62.

<sup>e</sup> Ware's Works, vol. II. p. 220.

No alteration took place, in this reign, of the style on the Great Seal.

His Crown of the Gun Money has on the Reverse this motto, **CHRISTO VICTORE TRIUMPHO**; which also appears upon the white metal Crown of the same type, with the addition, upon the edge, of **MELIORIS TESSERA FATI. ANNO REGNI SEXTO.**

Duby has given an engraving of a piece of Copper, which he says was struck at Cork during the siege of that place in 1690. It is in the form of a lozenge, and has on one side a castle, the arms of the town, and on the other side **CORK** <sup>f</sup>.

I know not upon what authority he has assigned it to that year. It has much the appearance of a town-piece, or token.

His Mints were at **DUBLIN, LIMERICK, and LONDON**, and, if Duby's idea be correct, **CORK**.

#### WILLIAM AND MARY.

1688. The abdication of King James, in this year, placed King William and Queen Mary upon the Throne of England. As that Monarch, however, still retained some little authority in Ireland, by virtue of which he continued to coin Money in that kingdom, I have chosen rather to continue the account of his Coinage down to the total loss of his power at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, than to interrupt the history of the succeeding reign, by breaking in upon it so soon after its commencement. We must therefore now return to the latter

<sup>f</sup> Recueil des Pieces Obsidionales ; page 38, Plate XVII. N° 7.

end of 1688, when, on the 19th of February 1688-9, King William issued a Proclamation to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the quantities of Dutch and Foreign Coins, which had been paid by his forces, upon their march, in divers parts of England.

By this Ordinance, all Receivers, &c. of the Revenue were commanded to receive the said foreign Coins, in payment of Duties, at the following rates:

	s.	d.
The Ducatoons at - - - - -	5	6
The Three-Guilder Pieces - -	2	7½
The Twenty-eight-Stiver Pieces -	2	6
The Cross Dollars - - - - -	4	6
The Guilder Pieces - - - - -	1	9
The Six-Stiver Pieces - - - - -	0	6½

for a certain limited time; *viz.* all Receivers, &c. within the City of London, and ten miles circuit of the same, during the time of one week, and all other Receivers, &c. out of the said City and Circuit, and on the South side of Trent, during the term of three weeks, from the date of the Proclamation &c.

1689. By Indenture with Thomas Neale, Esq. Master and Worker of the Mint, dated in the first year of this reign, the Coins were continued of the same kinds, weight, and fineness, as in the first year of King James II.<sup>h</sup> And, for the more exact sizing of them, it was ordered, that two grains should be taken from the counterpoize of the Crown, one from the Half-Crown, half a grain from the Shilling, and one quarter of a grain from the Sixpence. Two

<sup>s</sup> Proclamation in the Library of James Bindley, esq.

<sup>h</sup> Lowndes, page 56.

grains also from the counterpoize of the Five-pound Piece, one from the Forty Shillings, half a grain from the Twenty, and one quarter of a grain from the Ten Shillings Piece<sup>i</sup>.

The Act which was passed in the fifth year of King Henry IV., by the fourth chapter of which the multiplying Gold and Silver was made felony, had prevented persons skilled in the art of refining metals, improving their ores, and extracting Gold and Silver from them, from exercising their skill within the realm, for fear of falling under the penalty of the said Statute, and compelled them to exercise those arts in foreign countries, to the great loss and damage of the realm. That chapter of the Statute was therefore repealed<sup>k</sup>, with this proviso, that all the Gold and Silver which should be extracted by the said art should be from that time employed to no other use than for the increase of Monies; and that the place for the disposal thereof should be the Mint within the Tower of London; at which place should be received the full and true value of the same, according to the assay and fineness thereof; and that none of that metal of Gold and Silver, so refined and extracted, should be permitted to be used, or disposed of, in any other place within their Majesties kingdoms and dominions.

By the fourth section of the same chapter it was enacted, that no Mine of Copper, Tin, Iron, or Lead, should hereafter be adjudged to be a Royal

<sup>i</sup> Lansdown MSS. vol. 246.

<sup>k</sup> The repeal of that Statute was procured by the interest of the Honourable Robert Boyle, who degraded considerable skill in chemistry by a belief in the transmutation of metals. [Life by Birch, page 278.]



Mine, although Gold and Silver might be extracted from the same<sup>l</sup>.

On the 1st of May a Committee was appointed to consider of the great abuses committed in the impairing the Coins of the realm, and how the same might be prevented<sup>m</sup>.

I have not discovered any Report upon the Journals.

1690. In this year it was found necessary to raise the allowance for Coinage, in the Scottish Mint, from eighteen Pounds Scots (at which it was fixed in 1686) to twenty Pounds Scots the stone weight<sup>n</sup>.

The great scarcity of Silver at this time occasioned a Petition from divers working Goldsmiths, in and about the City of London, to the House of Commons, on the 9th of April. It stated that, upon search at the Custom House, they had found that, since October last, entries had been made of 286,102 ounces of Silver in Bullion, and 89,949 Dollars and Pieces of Eight, for exportation by divers private persons; and they doubted not but it would appear, that not only the East India Company, but also divers Jews and Merchants, had of late bought up great quantities of Silver to carry out of the Kingdom, and had given three Halfpence *per* ounce above the value, which had encouraged the melting down of much Plate, and milled Monies, whereby, for six months past, not only the Petitioners in

<sup>l</sup> Statute 1 Will. and Mary, chap. 30. This clause was afterwards explained, 5 William and Mary, chap. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. page 117.

<sup>n</sup> Scots Acts. First Parliament of William and Mary, chap. 36, Act anent the Mint.

their trade, but the Mint itself had been stopped from coining; and the Petitioners prayed the consideration of the House. This Petition was referred to a Committee, who were to report<sup>o</sup>.

Accordingly, the Committee reported, upon the 8th of May, that, by a certificate from the Custom House, it appeared that great quantities of Silver had been exported, of which seven parts in eight had been shipped off by the Jews, who would do any thing for their profit. The reason for this exportation was plain, for the French King, of late, finding his Money very scarce, had raised his Coin *ten per cent.* which was an encouragement to send Silver to fill his coffers, and therefore the Jews exported it daily in very great quantities.

That on the Monday immediately preceding the date of the certificate, which was given in on the 17th of April, they had shipped off about 60,000 ounces, by the name of foreign Silver; and great parcels more were ready to be shipped; which made it scarce and dear, to the utter ruin of working Goldsmiths.

That there were also English who would, for their advantage, doubtless, melt down the Crown Pieces, &c. and sell them for foreign Silver, to the undoing of the whole Nation for want of Money, unless a present remedy were found to prevent the exportation of any Silver or Gold.

That, by Certificates from the Officers of the Mint, it appeared that, of late, very small quantities had been coined.

That it was offered to be proved, that the profit of

<sup>o</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. page 372.

melting down ~~£~~.1000 of milled Money for exportation, was ~~£~~.25 ready-money, and upwards.

That Silver was coined at the Mint at five Shillings and two Pence *per* ounce, but at the time of exportation was generally sold at five Shillings and three Pence Halfpenny an ounce, which gave occasion to its being melted down, and exported as foreign Silver.

That divers proposals had been suggested :

First, a total prohibition.

Secondly, a qualified prohibition for certain times, or an imposition for exportation of Silver.

Thirdly, the enhancing our own Money.

That the Committee could not agree of a way to prevent the inconveniences complained of, but recommended the consideration of the House.

It was then resolved, that the Report should be recommitted to the same Committee ; and that they should prepare a Bill, or Bills, as they should see cause, to be presented to the House ; and that the Officers of the Mint should attend them <sup>P</sup>.

A Bill was accordingly presented, upon the 19th of the same month, to discourage the exportation of Bullion, and to encourage the importation ; and for the converting thereof into the current Coin of the realm ; which was read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time on the next day<sup>q</sup>. It did not, however, pass the House until the month of November following.

The state of Ireland now required the King's immediate presence ; and he accordingly landed at Carrickfergus upon the 14th of June in this year,

<sup>P</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. p. 408.

<sup>q</sup> Idem, p. 420.

and, having defeated James's army at the Boyne on the 1st of July, encamped at Finglas, near Dublin<sup>r</sup>.

From his Camp there he issued a Proclamation, dated on the 10th of July, for the purpose of putting a stop, at once, to the mischievous effects of the debased Money which had been made current by the late King.

This was done by reducing those Coins to *the value or standard of the like Copper Money formerly current in the Kingdom<sup>s</sup>, viz. the large Half Crown of Copper Money, together with the Crown Piece of like metal and weight, lately stamped, to one Penny sterling each.*

The small Half-Crown, of Copper, to three Farthings.

The large Copper Shilling, and the Sixpence, to one Farthing each.

And all such Pewter Pence as had been lately coined in the Mint at Dublin were to pass for Halfpence, and all the Halfpence of the like metal for Farthings.

All the above Coins were to be deemed current Money, at those rates, in all payments within the Kingdom of Ireland<sup>t</sup>.

On the 17th of November, the Bill to prevent the transportation of Bullion passed the Commons, with this title, An Act against the exporting of Gold and Silver, and melting down the Coin of the Realm<sup>u</sup>. It was, I presume, lost in the House of Lords; for I do not find it in any collection of the Statutes.

<sup>r</sup> Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. III. pp. 133—147.

<sup>s</sup> These are the words of the Proclamation, but what Coins like to these were ever current before in that or any other Kingdom?

<sup>t</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XCIII.

<sup>u</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. p. 473.

Whilst this Bill was passing through the House of Commons, information was given that great quantities of Silver had been shipped by the Jews and others for Holland; that, on the 13th of September, 35,000 ounces, all of English casting, had been seized on board one of the ships outward bound, by the Officers of the Customs and the person who gave the information; that the Commissioners of the Customs had not only discouraged this seizure, but had suffered about 70,000 ounces more to be shipped off, without examination whether English or foreign; and that, for sixteen months past, about 140,000 ounces had been thus exported<sup>x</sup>.

Tin Halfpence and Farthings were struck in this year, with a piece of Copper through the middle, having the heads of the King and Queen on the Obverse, and this inscription, GULIELMUS ET MARIA. On the Reverse, the figure of Britannia, with the name over it, and NUMMORUM FAMULUS 1690 on the rim. The Farthing has the date also in the Exergue. They seem to have been coined in considerable numbers in this and the following year, for the profit arising from them, to the 29th of September 1691, is stated at £.12,885. 2s. 6d.<sup>y</sup>

It is very probable<sup>z</sup> that the King now renewed, or confirmed, to Colonel Roger Moore, the Patent

<sup>x</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. p. 449.

<sup>y</sup> See a brief State of the Incomes and Issues of their Majesties' Publick Revenue from November 5, 1688, to September 29, 1691, by the Commissioners appointed, 2 William and Mary, to examine the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom. [Harleian MSS. No. 7404.]

<sup>z</sup> This probability is increased by a reference in a Proclamation, of the 17th of February, 1692-3, respecting those Coins, to a former Proclamation in the present reign.

*The following  
appears in the  
London Gazette  
Dec. 3 to 6  
1688*

*'The new  
Tin Farthings  
made by His  
Majesty's com-  
mand, are  
to be delivered*

*out of the Tin Office in Bishop-  
gate Street,  
where will be  
given a further*

*Account of the  
same; and  
also at Jonathan's Coffee  
House near the Royal Exchange.*

which he purchased from Sir John Knox; for it appears that in this year he began to coin Halfpennies and Farthings of Copper, and some of Pewter<sup>a</sup>.

1690-1. As it was found by experience that the Irish who were in rebellion against their Majesties, and who had in their possession the greater part of the Brass and mixed Metal Money, (which by the Proclamation of the 10th of July had been declared current at certain reduced rates,) were endeavouring to put large quantities of it into circulation, a Proclamation was issued, upon the 23d of February, declaring that, after the 26th of that month, such Coins were to be no longer current, or used, in any payment whatsoever<sup>b</sup>.

1691. On the 23d of December, another Bill to prevent the Exportation of Bullion, &c. was brought into the House of Commons, read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House<sup>c</sup>. But this Committee appears not to have been formed, and the Bill was laid aside for the present.

1692. On the eighth of December, in this year, Sir Richard Temple presented to the House of Commons a Bill to prevent the Exportation of Gold and Silver, and melting down the Coin of the Realm. It was read the first time, and resolved to be read a second time<sup>d</sup>; which was done on the 31st of that month, when the Bill was committed, but afterward laid aside<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Simon, p. 65. In a note he says that a large number of the Pewter Coins is accounted for by Lord Coningsby. Book of Accounts, 1690. Audit Office. [Note C.]

<sup>b</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XCII.

<sup>c</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. p. 603.

<sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 736.

<sup>e</sup> Idem, p. 766.

On the 14th of the same month leave was given to bring in a Bill for removing Doubts and preventing Controversies concerning Royal Mines: and that the King might have the pre-emption<sup>f</sup>. This Bill, after some opposition on the part of the Crown, passed both Houses, but did not receive the Royal Assent.

1692-3. The Act for the Encouragement of Coinage, which was originally passed in the 18th year of Charles II., renewed in his 25th year, and revived in the first of James II., was now continued for seven years, from the 13th of February, and from thence to the end of the first Session of Parliament then next following<sup>g</sup>.

This Act very modestly refrained from speaking of the measure in the high-sounding terms of the former Statutes, which represented it as greatly beneficial to the Nation, and contented itself with barely promulgating the law. This was possibly owing to the forcible manner in which Sir Dudley North had represented the folly of the plan<sup>h</sup>. The

<sup>f</sup> Commons Journals, vol. X. p. 743. See under the year 1694.

<sup>g</sup> Statute 4 and 5 W. and M. chap. XXIV. § 3.

<sup>h</sup> "I call to witness," says he, "the vast sums that have been coined in England since the free Coinage was set up. What is become of it all? Nobody believes it to be in the Nation, and it cannot well be all transported, the penalties for so doing being so great. The case is plain — the melting-pot devours it all. The rather, because that practice is so easy, profitable, and safe from all possibility of being detected, as every one knows it is. And I know no intelligent man who doubts but the new Money goes this way. Silver and Gold, like other commodities, have their ebbings and flowings: upon the arrival of quantities from Spain, the Mint commonly gives the best price; that is, coined Silver for uncoined Silver, weight for weight. Wherefore it is carried into the Tower and coined. Not long after,

promoters of the Bill, though unable to answer his arguments, yet still persisted, (as others since their time have persisted, to the ruin of the Mint) in enforcing those provisions, the inexpediency of which had been proved not only by his reasoning, but by fatal experience also.

On the 17th of February the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland issued a Proclamation, in which it was stated, that by several Proclamations heretofore published in the reigns of the late Kings, Charles, and James the Second before his abdication, and of their present Majesties, certain Tin and Copper Halfpence and Farthings had been declared current, and that the Lord Lieutenant had, pursuant to a power reserved to him, in and by certain letters patent under the great seal of King Charles the Second, ordered the patentees to cause the effigies of their Majesties' heads on the one side, and on the other the impress of an harp crowned, with this inscription, GULIELMUS ET MARIA DEI GRATIA MAG.

there will come a demand for Bullion, to be exported again. If there is none, but all happens to be in Coin, what then? Melt it down again; there's no loss in it, for the coining costs the owners nothing.

“ Thus the Nation hath been abused, and made to pay for the twisting of straw for asses to eat. If the merchant were made to pay the price of the Coinage, he would not have sent his Silver to the Tower without consideration; and coined Silver would always keep a value above uncoined Silver; which is now so far from being the case, that many times it is considerably under, and generally the King of Spain's Coin here is worth one Penny per ounce more than our new Money.” [Discourses upon Trade; principally directed to the Cases of the Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Increase of Money. London, 4to, 1691, p. 18. These Discourses are anonymous; but, in p. 180 of the Life of Sir Dudley North, they are said to be written by him.]



BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. REX ET REGINA, to be stamped upon all the Copper Halfpence and Farthings which they should hereafter make; and that certain persons, either ill-affected to their Majesties' government, or misled by false news and rumours, had refused to receive the Tin and Copper Halfpence and Farthings, as well those formerly authorized, as those which had been lately made as aforesaid; it was therefore declared, that neither the Copper nor Tin Halfpence or Farthings had been, or were, by publick authority decreed or disallowed, but that they ought to pass current in payment, in such manner as they had formerly, and of late passed, by virtue of the said Letters Patent and Proclamations.

1693. In the beginning of this year Andrew Corbet, Esq. applied for a Patent for coining Farthings and Halfpence of Copper, and the Members of the County of Cornwall petitioned against the granting it; whereupon the Commissioners of the Treasury directed the Officers of the Mint to consider whether the Copper or Tin Farthings then proposed to be made might most easily be counterfeited, and with most advantage to the counterfeiters. Their answer is not known, but Mr. Corbet obtained his patent, for the term of nine years from Lady Day, 1693, under the yearly rent of £.1,000.

In a paper from the Mint, dated May 12, 1693, the purport of which was to shew the profit to be made by that patent, it is stated, that there were to be coined 780 tons in the nine years; viz. 120 tons *per annum* for the first four years, and 60 tons *per*

*annum* during the other five years; but they supposed that only 700 tons could be uttered, and upon that quantity raised the following calculation:

700 tons at 24*d.* or 2*s.* *per* lb. or £.224. *per* ton,  
amount to in Coin - - - - £.156,800

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Patentee's Charges: £.

1st. 700 tons at £.112. *per* ton is - - 78,400

2d. Charges of coining, &c. at £.40.

*per* ton - - - - - 28,000

3d. Incidents, rent, &c. at £.7. *per* ton - 4,900

4th. Exchanging Tin Farthings - - - 10,000

5th. To circulate them at 5 *per cent.* or

£.12. *per* ton - - - - - 8,400

6th. Paid to the Government £.1000.

*per annum* - - - - - 9,000

---

£.138,700

---

Profit remaining to the Patentee in

nine years - - - - - £.18,100

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In a representation made by Mr. Neale, Master of the Mint, dated June the 9th, he stated, that he wanted presence of mind when he agreed that to make 24 Pence to the pound, and allow £.1,000. *per annum*, was the same as his proposal to coin them at only 21 Pence *per* pound, without that allowance; whereas three Pence *per* pound, the difference on 780 tons, would be £.21,840; but £.1000. *per annum* for nine years would be only £.9,000, the difference of which, or £.12,840, the patentee gained by it<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Snelling's Copper Coinage, p. 39.

Whether it were in consequence of these representations, or from some other cause, is not known, but Mr. Corbet did not long enjoy his patent, which was transferred to other hands in the course of the following year.

1693-4. About this time the number of Halfpence and Farthings which were not worth above one third part of the current value, were so increased, by the avarice of the patentees, and so many of them were counterfeited, that they were become an intolerable grievance, for little other Money could be received, and that could not be put off again under two or three Shillings in the Pound loss. Such was the representation of several Traders, &c. in and about the City of London and Borough of Southwark, in a Petition to the House of Commons upon the 12th of March 1693-4. They then prayed that the House would address his Majesty, that, for the future, all Farthings and Halfpence might be made at the Mint, and as near the intrinsic value as the charge of Coinage would allow<sup>1</sup>.

1694. The Statute which was passed in the first year of their Majesties, to repeal that made in the fifth year of Henry IV. against the multiplying of Gold and Silver, was explained by an Act made in this Session of Parliament, in order to remove doubts and question which had arisen upon the said Statute, whereby great suits and troubles had been occasioned to many owners and proprietors of mines. This Act confirmed the possession of all mines of Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead, to the owners and proprietors of the same, notwithstanding such

<sup>1</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 125.

might be pretended, or claimed to be Royal mines, reserving to the Crown only the privilege of purchasing the ore at certain rates<sup>m</sup>.

A Petition of the Retail Shopkeepers, and other poor persons, without Cripplegate, London, was presented to the House of Commons upon the 29th of March. It stated, that the most part of the Farthings and Halfpence then current was in the hands of the poor, who were not able to bear the loss that would befall them, in case any other should be made, and due care should not be taken to rechange the present ones, which wanted three or four Pence of the true value in a Shilling; and therefore they prayed, that the House would make such application to his Majesty, as that in case there should be new Farthings, the said Farthings and Halfpence might be rechanged for them<sup>n</sup>.

This was referred to a Committee, which on the 17th of April reported the following Resolutions:

1<sup>st</sup>. That the present Tin Farthings and Halfpence not being of the intrinsick value, and being easy to be counterfeited, are an obstruction to trade, and a great grievance to the subject.

2<sup>dly</sup>. That the Farthings and Halfpence to be made in future, ought to be made of English Metal, and of the intrinsick value, and to be coined by their Majesties in the Mint.

3<sup>dly</sup>. That the same be not let to farm.

4<sup>thly</sup>. That an humble Address be made to their

<sup>m</sup> Statute 5 W. and M. chap. 6.

<sup>n</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 144. At p. 149 it is stated, that a Bill for the better discovery of Clippers of the Coin passed upon the 4th of April. It is probable, however, that it did not pass the Lords, as it does not appear in the Statute Book.

**Majesties, that the present Tin Farthings and Halfpence, not counterfeited, be exchanged by their Majesties.**

These Resolutions were agreed to by the House, with the amendment of the words in Italicks in the second resolution \*. And an Address to the same purport was also agreed to †.

This Address undoubtedly influenced the Crown in the conditions under which Sir John Herne and others received a grant of license and authority to make Halfpence and Farthings of Copper, for seven years from Midsummer in this year.

The principal terms of the patent were, that 700 tons should be coined in seven years, at twenty-one Pence to every pound weight, with a remedy of two Farthings. The Coins to be of the best English Copper, rolled and milled; and the patentees were to exchange £.200. *per week* of Tin Farthings for Copper Farthings, to any person who should bring them; and to melt down the same within fourteen days.

For these privileges they were to pay to a Comptroller, to be appointed by their Majesties (who appears to have been Mr. Corbet, to whom the former patent was granted in 1693) £.200. *per annum*‡.

The current Silver Coins had been for many years clipped and adulterated, which practices were of late secretly carried on, to a ruinous extent, by a combination of almost all persons concerned in the receipt of Money, and at the same time industriously promoted by the enemies of the Government.

\* Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 163.

† Id. p. 168.

‡ Snelling's Copper Coinage, p. 39.

This diminishing and counterfeiting the Money was at this time so excessive, that what was good Silver was worth scarcely one half of its current value, whilst a great part of the Coins was only Iron, Brass, or Copper plated, and some no more than washed over.

The nation suffered most severely from this evil in its consequences to trade, and the government experienced almost equal inconvenience with respect to its supplies. For a long time both the government and the people had beheld their specie, as it were melting away before their eyes, and almost every man was become, in some way or other, a robber of the publick; for he who neither debased nor diminished, yet either hoarded or sold what fell into his hands undebased or undiminished. Whilst every nation in Europe that had any monied or commercial connexions with England, and more particularly the Dutch<sup>r</sup>, drew some advantage from the irregular state to which the coinage was reduced.

<sup>r</sup> The writers on the opposition side made no difficulty to assert, that the remittances for the charge of the war every year carried out of the Kingdom from a million and a half to two millions of Money, either in specie or bullion, which was the same thing; that all this wealth not only centered in Holland, but was negociated there a thousand ways to our prejudice; that as our Coin degenerated from bad to worse, they either refused to take it at all, or took it by weight, which generally reduced the value to half its denomination; that the heavy part of it they first clipped as close as possible, and then remitted it hither again, where it was current by tale; that the light they melted down, and debased into their own Schellings, which became the currency of the army, and by which they had all the profits of the coinage, &c.; that when the Bank of England, in virtue of a clause in their charter for that purpose, would have erected a Mint in Flanders, in order to secure that branch of profit to

The time, however, was now come, when the cure of these disorders could be no longer deferred, and the government was imperiously called upon to apply strong and effectual remedies.

Mr. Fleetwood, afterward Bishop of Ely, seems to have been the first who gave a publick alarm of the danger which threatened the nation, from the supineness with which those nefarious practices had been so long connived at.

In a Sermon upon the 23d chapter of Genesis, verse 16th\*, which was preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall Chapel on the 16th of December, he pointed out the mischiefs arising from the debasing of the Coins, either in weight or fineness, and the sinfulness of the practice, as being a fraud

themselves, the Dutch not only refused to grant them that privilege in any province of theirs, but also prevailed on their neighbours to refuse it too ; that whereas in the beginning of the war they allowed 43 Schellings for a Pound sterling, they gradually lowered that consideration to 28 ; that a great part of our base Coin was minted in Holland, and from thence obtruded upon us ; that after having beat down the value of Guineas abroad to nineteen Shillings sterling, they remitted them to England, where they were current for thirty ; that all foreign Gold, rising in value in exact proportion to this rise upon Guineas, they took the advantage to buy up our grain and manufactures with it, and thereby enabled themselves, at our loss, to forestall and undersell us in all the markets of Europe ; that so long ago as 1691 Sir Dudley North had proposed remedies. [Ralph's History of England, vol. II. page 566.] It will be easily seen, that a great deal of the above was merely party representation, and that in many of the instances the Dutch only took a fair advantage of the state to which our coinage was reduced. The other particulars, it is probable, were much exaggerated.

\* "And Abraham weighed to Ephron the Silver which he had named in the audience of the Sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of Silver, current Money with the merchant."

upon every person who received them when so debased; although those who practised it imagined they were guilty of no crime against their neighbors, because the injury of no particular person was designed by them. He also predicted the calamities which would ensue, unless a speedy remedy should be applied to the evil; namely, that the time must come when the Money would be no longer current but at its just weight, when the common people would be convinced, of what they could not at that time understand, or would not well consider, that clippers were as truly thieves and robbers, as those whom they found upon the highways, or breaking up their houses, and that they did as well deserve their chains and halters. "And who can tell," said he, "whether every single person must not bear his own burden, and stand to the loss of all that is wanting of due weight, of all the Money that he is master of? And if he must, the cry will be like that of Egypt, loud and universal, for every family will be a loser. But it will fall severest upon the poor, who from a little can spare none."

From the extent to which the clipping had been carried, which he estimated at nearly one half, he suspected that covetousness, as well as luxury, was at the bottom of that crime, and that some people would grow rich thereby, as well as others feed their vices and necessities; "for," continued he, "it does not seem probable that so much Money should be spent by those poor and mean wretches, who are commonly discovered to live by this unjust and wicked practice: the sum is much too big for them; and one cannot well account, how almost all the old



Silver that circulates round the nation, should come into these clippers' hands in the compass of a few years.

Queen Mary deceased at Kensington, on the 28th of December, after which event the King's head and style only were placed upon the Coins, and the interlinked letters w and m on the Reverse were omitted.

Soon afterwards the attention of Parliament was directed to the state of the Coins by Mr. Montague, then Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1694-5. The first step that was taken was the appointment of a Committee upon the 8th of January, to receive proposals how to prevent clip-

Mr. Fleetwood's Sermon against clipping, pp. 17 and 19. It was printed, by desire of the Court, in quarto, 1694.

Mr. Lowndes has given a computation of the common weight of a hundred pounds by tale, in ordinary Silver Money of that time, taken from a medium of the bags, weighed at the Receipt of Exchequer in May, June, and July, 1695, which will shew, in some degree, how far the Coins were then diminished.

No. of Bags.	What they ought to weigh.			Weight at the Exchequer.			Deficiency.		
	oz.	dwt.	gr.	oz.	dwt.	gr.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
40	15,483	16	16	8,095	5	0	7,388	11	16
74	28,645	1	20	14,373	5	0	14,271	16	16
133	51,483	14	22	27,318	0	0	24,165	14	22
120	46,451	10	0	23,496	15	0	22,954	15	0
105	40,645	1	6	20,899	15	0	19,745	6	6
100	38,709	11	16	19,588	5	0	19,121	6	16
572	221,418	16	8	113,771	5	0	107,647	11	8

[See Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins, page 159.]

From that table it appears, that 572 bags containing in tale £57,200, and which should, according to the law of the Mint, have weighed 221,418 oz. 16 dwt. 8 gr. did weigh only 113,771 oz. 5 dwt. So that the medium of the weight of each hundred

ping of the Coin for the future; and the exportation of Silver, and to report the same to the House<sup>x</sup>.

The Resolutions of the Committee were read upon the 12th of March, and were as follows:

1. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the best way to prevent clipping the Silver Coin of the Kingdom, for the future, is to new coin the same into milled Money.

2. That one million is a sufficient sum to make good the deficiency of the present clipped Coins.

3. That the Crown and Half Crown, hereafter to be coined, shall be of the present weight and fineness.

pounds was only 198 oz. 18 dwt. instead of 387 oz. 1 dwt. 22 gr. which the same should have weighed; and that there was consequently upon each hundred Pounds, at a medium, a deficiency of 188 oz. 3 dwt. 22 gr. in weight; making the value in Money of £48. 12s. 4d. nearly. And again it appeared by an account I [i. e. Mr. Folkes] have seen of Thomas Neale, Esq. then Master and Worker of the Mint, that the weight of 790,860 lb. 1 oz. 19 gr. coined out of the clipped Silver Money sent in from the Exchequer, was the produce of £4,695,303 15s. 2d. of the said Money in tale; according to which account there was, at a medium, a deficiency upon each hundred Pounds of the said Money, of 184 oz. 18 dwt. 16 gr. in weight, making the value in Money of £47 15s. 10d.

“But if the Money was so much deficient at a medium, some of the particular pieces must have been yet more enormously diminished; and I myself [i. e. Mr. Folkes] have seen those that wanted full three-fourths of their lawful weight. Which justifies what I have heard jocularly said, that there were Half Crowns then current in payment, that there were each seven Shillings and six Pence too light, by which it was meant, that they were so defective, that one of them, being put into the balance, wanted the addition of three more of the same sort to make up the weight of 232 troy grains and a quarter, which is nearly that of one undiminished Half Crown.” [Folkes, page 117, note.]

<sup>x</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. page 200.

4. That the Crown piece shall go at five Shillings and six Pence, and the Half Crown at two Shillings and nine Pence.

5. That the present milled, Crown and Half Crown go at the same rate.

6. That all Money, to be coined under the denomination of the Half Crown, shall have a Remedy of six Pence in the ounce.

7. That for as much of the present Coin as any person brings into the Mint, he shall have weight for weight, and the overplus by a bill or ticket, at . . . *per cent.* on a fund to be appropriated for that purpose.

8. That the present laws against clipping be enforced by some additions.

9. That all persons, whose professions require such like tools or engines as may be made use of for coining or clipping, be obliged to register their names and places of abode; and that it be penal on such as do neglect to do the same.

10. That it be penal on all such persons on whom clippings are found.

11. That it be penal on all such persons as give more for any Silver Coin than it ought to go for by law.

12. That no presses, such as are used for coining, be in any other place than his Majesty's Mint.

13. That it be penal on all such persons as shall import any clipped or counterfeit Money.

14. That it be penal on any person to export English Bullion, and the proof to lie upon the exporter.

And that it be penal on any person to counterfeit any foreign mark upon Bullion.

Upon these Resolutions being read, it was re-

solved, that the House would, on Saturday morning next, take the Report into consideration <sup>y</sup>.

These Resolutions were printed in the Votes, by mistake, though they were not considered, nor agreed to, by the House; and therefore it was ordered that in the Votes of March 15th notice should be given of the mistake, and that the matter thereof remained yet to be determined by the House <sup>z</sup>.

On the 18th of that month the Lords desired the concurrence of the Commons, in a Bill which they had passed, intituled, an Act to prevent the counterfeiting and clipping the Coin <sup>a</sup>; which the Commons did, after making several amendments, to which the Lords agreed <sup>b</sup>.

1695. The Commons also, upon the 28th of the same month, ordered that the Report of the Committee, appointed to receive proposals for preventing the clipping of the Silver Coin of the Kingdom, should be taken into consideration on the following Tuesday <sup>c</sup>. But it was not brought forward on that day, nor at any future time, although several different days were appointed for that purpose. The reason for which was, that the Report was founded upon the principle of a reduction of the standard, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was determined not to adopt, and he at last carried his point by a very small majority <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. page 266.      <sup>z</sup> Id. page 273.

<sup>a</sup> Id. page 276.      <sup>b</sup> Id. pages 312 and 327.      <sup>c</sup> Id. page 285.

<sup>d</sup> Lord Liverpool attributes the opposition which Mr. Montague met with, in carrying this measure through the House, to party motives, from the circumstance of the Kingdom being at that time divided into two great factions. He says, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer lost in the House of Commons, at

The Act to prevent counterfeiting, and clipping the Coin of the Kingdom received the Royal Assent on the 3d of May.

It began with stating, as the cause for its enactment, that it was manifest that of late years the current Coin of the Kingdom was greatly diminished by clipping, rounding, filing, and melting the same; and, likewise, that many false and counterfeit Coins were clipped for the better disguising thereof; and that it was apparent that those practices were very much occasioned by those persons who drove a trade of exchanging broad Money for clipped Money, and by other arts and devices.

It was therefore enacted, that, after the first day of May in the year 1695, no person or persons whatsoever should exchange, lend, sell, borrow, or buy, receive or pay, any broad Silver Money, or Silver Money unclipped, of the Coin of the Kingdom, for more in tale, benefit, profit, or advantage, than the same was coined for, and ought by law to go for, on pain of forfeiting the sum of ten Pounds for every twenty Shillings so exchanged, &c. and so in proportion for any greater or lesser sum: one moiety thereof to his Majesty, and the other moiety to the person who should sue or inform for the same.

That no person should presume to cast ingots or

first, many questions essential to the success of the measures he intended. By bringing however the same propositions repeatedly under the consideration of the House, he carried them at last, though by very small majorities. [Letter to the King on the Coins of the Realm, page 72.] This last circumstance might have led his Lordship to suspect, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer urged on his measures in opposition to the good sense of the people at large, and carried them at last, not by strength of argument, but by the exertion of influence.

bars of Silver, in imitation of the Spanish, or counterfeit any of the Spanish marks thereon, on pain of forfeiture, and of the penalty of five hundred Pounds.

That if any person should buy, or sell, and knowingly have in his possession any clippings or filings of the current Coin of the Kingdom, he should forfeit the same, and also five hundred Pounds, and should be branded in the right cheek with a hot iron with the letter R, and suffer imprisonment until payment of the said five hundred Pounds.

That no molten Silver should be exported unless first marked at Goldsmiths' Hall ; nor unless a Certificate should be first obtained, under the hand of one or more of the Wardens of the said Hall, of oath having been made before them by the owner thereof, and likewise by one credible witness, that the same was lawful Silver, and that no part thereof was (before the same was molten) the current Coin of the realm, nor Clippings thereof, nor Plate wrought within the Kingdom ; and that the Wardens should have power to seize and detain all such molten Silver, offered to be marked, as the person offering should not prove to be lawful Silver, by his or her oath, and the oath of one credible witness ; and that all Bullion, not so stamped, that should be shipped, might be seized by the Officers of the Customs.

That no Broker, not being a trading Goldsmith or Refiner of Silver, should buy or sell any Bullion or molten Silver, on pain of imprisonment for six months, without bail or mainprize.

That it should be lawful for one or more Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company, with any two or more of the Court of Assistants, within the compass of the Bills of Mortality, and any two Justices of the Peace

without the same, to enter into the house, &c. of any person suspected to be guilty of buying or selling unlawful Bullion, and to search for the same; and, in case of refusal, to break open any door, &c. And if the persons so searching should find any such unlawful Bullion, they were required to seize both it and the person or persons in whose possession it should be found, and in case such Bullion should not be proved, by the oath of the person or persons in whose possession it was found, and likewise of one credible witness, not to be the current Coin of the realm, (before it was molten,) nor clippings thereof, that then such person or persons should be committed to prison, and if, upon trial on an indictment for melting the current Silver Coin of the realm, he or they should not prove, by the oath of one credible witness at the least, that the same was lawful Bullion, and for want of such proof should be found guilty of the offence contained in such indictment, he or they should then suffer imprisonment for six months, without bail or mainprize.

That, in order to encourage the discovery of clippers and counterfeiters of the Coin, a reward of forty Pounds should be paid upon conviction of any person guilty of the same, or of bringing into the Kingdom any clipt, false, or counterfeit Coin.

That any person who had been guilty of clipping, &c. and should afterwards discover two or more persons guilty of the same, should, upon their conviction, receive his Majesty's pardon.

And if the person making such discovery should be an apprentice, he should be deemed, and was declared to be, a freeman, and should and might exer-

cise any lawful trade, &c. as if he had served his full apprenticeship.

That, in case of the seizure of any Bullion shipped for exportation, the proof whether it be English or Foreign Bullion should lie upon the owner, claimer, or exporter thereof.

That if any Bullion, allowed by the Act to be exported, should be entered in a false name, the whole of it should be forfeited.

That the provisions of the Act should not extend to prohibit the exportation of such Bullion as should be licensed by his Majesty, provided the same should be exported before the 1st day of January, 1695, and should not exceed seven hundred thousand ounces of Silver, to be applied for the payment of his Majesty's forces<sup>e</sup>.

This Act, according to Burnet, had no other effect but to alarm the Nation, and to sink the value of the Money in Exchange. Guineas, which were equal in value to twenty-one Shillings and six Pence in Silver, rose to thirty Shillings; that is to say, thirty Shillings sunk to twenty-one Shillings and six Pence<sup>f</sup>. All the perfect and unclipped Silver Coins were hoarded, and appeared no more<sup>g</sup>; and the Guineas would have risen to a still higher rate, if the Officers of the Exchequer, and the Receivers

<sup>e</sup> Statute 6 and 7 William III. chap. 17.

<sup>f</sup> History of his own Time, vol. II. p. 140. "This publick disgrace," he says, further, "put on our Coin, when the evil was not cured, was in effect a great point carried, by which there was an opportunity given to sink the credit of the Government and of the Publick Funds."

<sup>g</sup> See Lowndes, page 114.



of the Publick Revenue, had not refused to receive them in payment at the increased value<sup>h</sup>.

That Clause of the Scottish Statute of 1686 which prescribed the trial of every journey of Coin by itself distinctly, was repealed in the fifth Session of the first Parliament of King William, which was holden at Edinburgh on the 9th of May in this year, and the assay was ordered to be made by taking and making trial of any one or more single Journals, at the discretion of the Lords of Council, and then by melting all the other Journals into one mass<sup>i</sup>.

At this time, it seems that the current Coins of Ireland were exported in great quantities, on account of the rise of Gold and Silver in other parts. It was therefore deemed expedient to raise the value of the Foreign Coins then current in that Kingdom, which was accordingly done by Proclamation upon the 29th of May, when they were declared to be current at the following rates, *viz.*

#### Gold.

	Weight.		Value.			
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.	
The Spanish or French Pistole	4	8	—	1	1	0
The Spanish or French Half Pistole	2	4	at	0	10	6

#### Silver.

The Duccatoon	20	16	—	0	6	8
The Half and Quarter in proportion.						

<sup>h</sup> Draft of an intended Report on the State of the Coins by the late Lord Liverpool.

<sup>i</sup> Scots Acts, fifth Session of first Parliament of King William, chap. XVII. Act anent the Mint.

Silver.	Weight.		Value.		
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The Mexico, Sevil, or Pillar Piece of Eight, the Rix Dollar, or Cross Dollar, and all other Dollars, and the French Lewis	17	0 —	0	5	4
The Half and Quarter in pro- portion.					
The old Peru Piece of Eight	17	0 —	0	4	10
The Half and Quarter in pro- portion.					
The Crusadoe of Portugal - -	10	20 —	0	3	6
The Half in proportion.					

Two Pence to be allowed for each Grain deficient in the weight of any piece of Gold, and three Half-pence for each half-pennyweight wanting in any Piece of Silver. With those allowances the Coins were to be received in all payments.

The Proclamation further declared, that the weights then in use in that Kingdom, by virtue of a Proclamation issued by the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy of Ireland, bearing date the 6th day of June, 1683, and no other, should continue to be used for the weighing of all the several sorts of Coins above-mentioned <sup>k</sup>.

Although no mention is made in this Proclamation of the value of English Gold and Silver Coins, yet Mr. Simon is of opinion, that from this time may be dated the rise of their value in Ireland; the Guinea to twenty-six Shillings; the Half-Guinea to thirteen; the Crown to five Shillings and ten Pence; the Half-Crown to two Shillings and eleven Pence; the Shilling to fourteen Pence; and the Sixpence to seven Pence<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XCV.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, page 67.

On the 26th of November, the King's Speech was read in the House of Commons by the Speaker. In it his Majesty said : " I must likewise take notice of a great difficulty we lie under at this time, by reason of the ill state of the Coin ; the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the Nation ; but this is a matter of so general concern, and of so very great importance, that I have thought fit to leave it entirely to the consideration of my Parliament."<sup>m</sup>

By desire of the Lords, a conference was held with them, upon this subject, on the 5th of December following. When the Managers on the part of the Commons returned to the House, it was reported that the Lords, taking into consideration the ill state of the Coin, and finding the mischiefs arising thereby very grievous and general, for the preventing the further growth of so great an evil, and towards the remedying of it, in some measure, conceived it necessary to come to a resolution of making the following Address, to which they desired the concurrence of the House :

" We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in Parliament, having taken into our most serious consideration the great mischief which is brought upon this your Kingdom, by reason that the Coin which passeth in payment is generally clipped ; and that no other remedy is like to prove effectual for preventing the increase of this evil, but to make clipping unprofitable for the future, do most humbly address to your Majesty, to issue out your Royal Proclamation, declaring, that from no

<sup>m</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 339.

clipped Money should pass, in any payments, as the current Coin of this Kingdom."<sup>n</sup>

This was taken into consideration on the following day, and the debate was adjourned. The Committee of the whole House, appointed to consider the State of the Nation, then proceeded upon the matter of the Coin, and of a fund to make good the deficiency of the clipped Money<sup>o</sup>.

The Resolutions<sup>p</sup> of the Committee were reported on the 10th of December, *viz.*

2. That it is the opinion of the Committee, that the most effectual way to put a stop to the mischiefs which the Nation suffers by the currency of clipt Money, is to recoin the same.

3. That all clipped Money be recoined according to the established standard of the Mint, both as to weight and fineness.

4. That the loss of such clipped Money as is Silver [\*and coined at the lawful Mints of this Kingdom<sup>q</sup>,] shall be borne by the publick.

5. That a day, or days, be appointed, after which no [\*clipped Crowns or Half-Crowns,] [†other than such as are milled,] be allowed in payment, or to pass; except only to the Collectors and Receivers of his Majesty's Revenues and Taxes, or upon Loans, or payments in the Exchequer.

6. That a day, or days, be appointed, after which [\*no clipped Crowns or Half-Crowns,] [†other than such as are milled,] shall pass in any payment whatsoever.

<sup>n</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 355.      <sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 356.

<sup>p</sup> The first Resolution did not relate to the Coinage.

<sup>q</sup> Before these Resolutions were passed, the words included in brackets with \* prefixed were added, and those with † were omitted.

7. That all such Crowns and Half-Crowns, as they come into his Majesty's Receipt, be recoined into milled Money.

8. That a day, or days, be appointed, after which no Money clipped within the ring be allowed in payment, or to pass; except only to the Collectors and Receivers of his Majesty's Revenues and Taxes, or upon Loans, or payments into the Exchequer.

9. That a day, or days, be appointed, after which no Money clipped within the ring shall pass in any payment whatsoever.

10. That a day, or days, shall be appointed, for all persons to bring in their clipped Money, to be recoined into milled Money; after which no recompense shall be made for the same.

11. That a Fund, or Funds, be settled for supplying the deficiencies of the clipped Money.

The above Resolutions were then passed<sup>r</sup>; and an Address founded upon them, and varying somewhat from that of the Lords, was agreed upon the 14th of the same month.

In it they stated to his Majesty, that the most effectual way to put a stop to the evil of clipped Money, was, in their opinion, to prevent the currency thereof, as soon as his Majesty in his great wisdom should think fit, and therefore they humbly addressed his Majesty to issue out his Royal Proclamation in the terms of the 5th, 6th, 8th, and 9th Resolutions<sup>s</sup>.

To this his Majesty answered, that he would issue his Proclamation with all convenient speed<sup>t</sup>.

This was done upon the 19th of the same month.

<sup>r</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 358.

<sup>s</sup> Id. p. 363.

<sup>t</sup> Id. p. 364.

The Proclamation first recited the Addresses of the two Houses ; and then declared, that from and after the 1st of January next, no clipped Crowns nor Half-Crowns should pass in any payment, except only to the Collectors and Receivers of the King's Revenues and Taxes, or upon Loans, or payments into the Exchequer ; nor, from and after the 3d of February, in any payment whatsoever in London, or within forty miles thereof ; and, from and after the 22d of February, in no part of the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed. That, from and after the 13th of February, no Shillings clipped within the ring should pass in any payments, except to Collectors, &c. as aforesaid ; and, from and after March the 2d, in no payments whatsoever. From and after which day no Money whatsoever, clipped within the ring, should pass in any payment, except to Collectors, &c. as before ; and from and after April 2d, not to pass in any payment whatsoever<sup>u</sup>.

On the 16th of December, leave was given to bring in a Bill to prohibit the wearing of any Gold or Silver during the war<sup>w</sup>. But it was proceeded with no further.

A Resolution of the Committee of the whole House, to which it had been referred to consider of Ways and Means for raising a Fund, or Funds, for supplying the deficiencies of the clipped Money, was read and agreed to on the 17th of that month, viz. that a sum not exceeding £.1,200,000 should be raised for that purpose ; and the consideration of the Ways and Means for raising that sum

<sup>u</sup> Proclamation, London Gazette in the British Museum.

<sup>w</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 364.

was referred to the Committee of the whole House, appointed for raising the supply to be granted to his Majesty, for carrying on the war against France<sup>x</sup>.

The Resolutions of that Committee were read on the 30th of the same month, to the following effect:

1. That, towards raising the sum of £.1,200,000, a Duty be laid upon all dwelling-house except cottages:

2. That the said Duty be two Shillings yearly upon each house.

3. That every house having ten windows do pay four Shillings yearly, over and above the said two Shillings.

4. That every house having twenty windows do pay eight Shillings yearly, over and above the said two Shillings.

5. That the said Duties be paid by the inhabitants of the said houses.

These Resolutions were then recommitted to the said Committee of the whole House<sup>y</sup>; and on the morrow were again read, with the addition of the following:

6th Resolution. That the said Duties be granted to his Majesty for the term of seven years, and no longer<sup>z</sup>.

An Act was passed for this purpose, nearly in the words of the Resolutions, to commence from the 25th of March, 1696, and to continue during the said term of seven years<sup>a</sup>.

These Resolutions, as well as the foregoing ones, did not pass the House without considerable debates.

<sup>x</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 364.

<sup>y</sup> Idem, p. 372.      <sup>z</sup> Idem, p. 374.

<sup>a</sup> Statute 7 and 8 William III. chap. XVIII. § 2.

The great questions to be decided were, whether it was necessary or expedient to recoin the Silver Money ; and, if that were so, whether the old standard should be altered or retained.

I shall give an abstract of the arguments which were offered, in the House, on both sides of these very important questions <sup>b</sup>, before I state the Acts of this Session for the improvement of the Coin.

Against the Re-coinage it was said :

That this was no fit time for it, while the Nation was engaged in a burthensome and doubtful war, by which the Kingdom had already greatly suffered, and of which it grew every day more sensible. That therefore the people, on whose good affection the Government so much depended, should not be provoked by fresh grievances, greater than they had yet felt, as those would certainly be that must arise from the calling in the Silver Coin.

That if this were done, however things might be managed and accommodated at home, it were impossible to maintain either the commerce or the war abroad ; for neither the Merchant could be paid his bill of exchange, nor the Soldier receive his subsistence. That this was to lay the axe to the root, and to dig up the foundation of the Government.

That if this design were prosecuted, trade must stand still for want of mutual payments ; whence such disorder and confusion would certainly follow as would discourage and dishearten the people in the highest measure, if not drive them to a perfect despair, as despair would to the most terrible extremities. That therefore the re-coining the Money, at

<sup>b</sup> This abstract is taken from Kennet's Compleat History of England.



this time, was by no means to be attempted, without hazarding all.

In answer it was alledged, by those of a contrary opinion, at the head of whom appeared Mr. Charles Mountague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the mischief would be fatal, if a present remedy were not found out and applied.

That, by reason of the ill state of the Coin, the Exchange abroad was infinitely to the Nation's prejudice.

That the Supplies, that were raised to maintain the Army, would never attain their end, being so much diminished and devoured by the unequal Exchange, and exorbitant premiums, before they reached the Camp.

That this was the unhappy cause that the Guineas advanced to thirty Shillings, and foreign Gold in proportion<sup>c</sup>.

That therefore, to the Nation's great loss, not only the Dutch, but indeed all Europe, sent that commodity to this market, and would continue to do so, till the Nation should be impoverished and undone by plenty of Gold.

That we must exchange for their Gold our goods, or our Silver, till at last we should have only Guineas to trade withal ; which nobody could think our neighbours would be so kind as to receive back at the value they were here.

That therefore the disease would every day take deeper root, infect the very vitals of the Nation, and, if not remedied, would soon become incurable.

<sup>c</sup> A French Louis d'Or was at this time worth twenty-four Shillings. [Ralph's History of England, vol. II. p. 614.]

That our Enemies must be mightily intimidated by so great an action, and would sooner be induced to agree to honourable terms of peace, in case they saw us able to surmount this difficulty, by the retrieving the ill state of the Coin, on which their hopes of the Nation's speedy ruin so much depended; and that it would justly create a mighty esteem abroad of the greatness and wisdom of the Parliament of England, which was able to conquer such an obstinate and almost insuperable evil, in such a juncture of affairs.

By these arguments the Parliament was determined to call in and re-coin the Silver Money, choosing rather to run the hazard of some great inconveniences than, by a longer neglect, to expose the Kingdom to apparent ruin.

The next question, whether the several denominations of the new Money should have the same weight and fineness as the old, was thus debated:

Those who were for raising the Standard argued, that the price of an Ounce of Silver Bullion was advanced to six Shillings and three Pence, and therefore the Standard ought to be raised to an equality.

That the raising the Standard would prevent the exportation of our Coin, and the melting of it down, which of late years had been much practised, to the great prejudice of the Kingdom; and that it would encourage people to bring in their Plate and Bullion to the Mint.

The Court Party, who were for preserving the old Standard inviolate, urged,

That as to the price of Bullion, now raised to six Shillings and three Pence, it was impossible the price of Silver could rise and fall in respect of itself, but

the alteration of the value of Bullion was merely in relation to diminished Money; for it was still matter of fact, that with five Shillings and two Pence of new milled Money they could buy an ounce of Bullion; whilst those who bought it with clipped pieces paid six Shillings and three Pence.

As to the argument, of preventing the exportation of Money, by raising the Standard, it was answered, that there was no possible way to keep our Money at home, but by out-trading our neighbours; that is, by sending them more commodities, or of greater value, than we received from them<sup>d</sup>.

These arguments were, in fact, borrowed from Mr. Locke's pamphlet upon the subject, who founded his reasoning upon the assumed dogma, that "an equal quantity of Silver is always of equal value to an equal quantity of Silver."<sup>e</sup> This is undeniably true in every instance except that to which the Author applied it, namely, to the Coinage; for, as the Money was fixed at five Shillings and two Pence the ounce, by Law, it was impossible that it should be at all times of the same value as an equal quantity of Bullion, which must be liable to perpetual variations of price, according to the quantity, and the demand for it, in the market.

By such arguments as the above, however, or possibly by those more prevailing ones which Mr. Mon-

<sup>d</sup> Kennet's Compleat History of England, fol. London, 1706, vol. III.

<sup>e</sup> Locke's Further Considerations concerning raising the Value of Money, 16mo, London, 1695, p. 2. Whether Mr. Locke were unable to see the fallacy of this dogma, or whether he actually did see it, but would not acknowledge that he did, is a question of no easy solution.

tague was able to suggest by virtue of his office, the Parliament was induced to form the Resolutions of the 10th of December; the most important of which was, that the new Coins should be made according to the established Standard of the Mint, both as to weight and fineness.

The Proclamation of the 19th of December, by which it was ordered that the clipped Money should, until a certain time, be received on account of his Majesty's Revenue, appears not to have been properly obeyed; for, on the 2d of January 1695-6, a Petition was presented to the House of Commons (by several Collectors of the Aid of four Shillings in the Pound within the City of London and County of Middlesex), stating that Sir Leonard Robinson, Receiver-general for the said City and County, had, contrary to the late Proclamation, and to the great loss of the Petitioners, refused to receive several great sums, in Half Crowns of true Sterling Money, which had been collected by them upon the said Aid.

An humble Address was, in consequence of this Petition, presented by the House to his Majesty, begging that he would be pleased to issue his Royal Proclamation to require the Receivers and Collectors of his Aids and Revenues to receive clipped Half Crowns, and other clipped Silver, being Sterling, according to his late Proclamation<sup>f</sup>. This was accordingly done, on the 4th of January, by a Proclamation which followed nearly the words of the Address<sup>g</sup>.

The first Statute which was made for the regula-

<sup>f</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 376.

<sup>g</sup> Id. p. 379.

tion of the Coin was passed in that Session which began upon the 22d of November in this year, and was entitled "An Act for remedying the ill State of the Coin of the Kingdom."

It enacted, that, on or before the first day of February 1695, the present Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or any one or more of them, or the Lord High Treasurer, should, with the assistance of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, the Under-Treasurer, the Auditor of the Receipt, the Clerk of the Pells, and the Deputy Chamberlains there; or with the assistance of any three or more of them, and in the presence of any persons who had loans owing to them at the Exchequer, and would voluntarily offer themselves to be present, cause all the clipt Money, being Sterling Silver, or being Silver of a coarser allay than the Standard, then actually remaining in the King's Receipt of the Exchequer, upon the account of Taxes, Revenues, Loans, or otherwise, to be exactly numbered or told, and to be also carefully weighed, and the Tale and Weight thereof to be fairly entered in a book to be kept for that purpose within the said Receipt, whereunto all persons concerned should have free access, at all seasonable times, without fee or charge; and should thereupon immediately cause all such clipt Money to be melted down, and cast into ingots, and so to be assayed and delivered by weight into his Majesty's Mint or Mints, where the Officers were required to receive the same, by Indenture, to be there immediately refined, or otherwise reduced to Sterling, and to be coined by the Mill and Press into the current Money of the Realm, *to hold such weight and fineness as are prescribed by the present*

*Indenture with his Majesty's Master and Worker for making of Silver Monies at the Tower of London; and with such allowance, called the Remedy, as is given to the Master by the said Indenture: which weight and fineness were thereby declared to be, and should remain to be, the Standard of and for the lawful Silver Coin of the Kingdom<sup>b</sup>; and that the charge of coining should not exceed fourteen Pence upon every Pound weight Troy, and the necessary charge of melting and refining.*

And the several Receivers-general, &c. &c. were required to receive such clipt Monies, being Sterling Silver, or of a coarser allay than the Standard, in all payments on account of his Majesty's Revenues, &c. at any time before the fourth of May, in the year 1696, at the same rate or value as if such Monies were unclipt or undiminished; and should not refuse any piece or pieces of Silver Money, by reason or pretence of their being worse, or holding more allay than Standard Silver, so as such pieces should not evidently appear to be made of Copper or base metal plated over or washed with Silver only.

The Tellers of the Exchequer were also autho-

<sup>b</sup> This Clause, which absurdly attempts to fix the Standard of the Silver Coins for ever, the baleful effects of which are felt most severely at this time [1810], is drawn in the true spirit of Mr. Locke's dictum, that "an Ounce of Silver, coined or not coined, is, and eternally will be, of equal value to any other Ounce of Silver." [Short Observations on a printed Paper, intitled, For encouraging the coining Silver Money in England, p. 10.] Lord Liverpool says, that the above Clause is not printed in the common edition of the Statutes. [Letter to the King, p. 73.] I know not why his Lordship selected that Clause only, as the whole Statute is omitted in Runnington's edition.

This Clause was repealed in the 56 G. III. cap. 68.

rized to receive such Monies for Loans, except there should be a special direction to the contrary.

And it was further enacted, that such Mints as his Majesty should erect for the greater ease of his subjects, in the remote parts of the Kingdom, *not being less than four*<sup>i</sup>, should be under the methods and directions prescribed by the Act.

And in regard that such Coins of the Realm, formerly made with the Hammer, and not by the Mill and Press, and which at that time remained whole and unclipt, would still be most liable and subject to the pernicious crime of clipping and rounding by wicked persons, who regarded their own unjust lucre more than the preservation of their native Country: for the better prevention thereof it was further enacted, that every person having such unclipt hammered Monies in his possession should, before the tenth day of February 1695, or before he disposed of the same, cause them to be struck through, about the middle of every piece, with a solid punch that should make a hole without diminishing the Silver; and that after the said tenth day of February no unclipt hammered Monies, that is, as it is explained in the Act, such pieces as had both rings, or the greatest part of the letters appearing thereon, should be current, unless they were so struck through; and if any piece struck

<sup>i</sup> The Lords objected to the establishment of so many Mints, lest the art of coining by the Mill should be discovered through the number of Workmen which must necessarily be employed, and therefore proposed, as an amendment, to omit the words "not being less than four;" but the amendment was, upon a conference, given up by the Lords. [Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 387.]

through should appear afterwards to be clipt, no person should tender or receive the same in payment, under the penalty of forfeiting as much as the clipt Monies so punched through should amount to in tale, to be recovered to the use of the poor of the parish where such Money should be so tendered or received.

And as the smaller pieces of the new Money to be coined would be most useful in commerce, it was further enacted, that, after the fourth day of February 1695, at least forty Pounds weight Troy in every hundred should be coined into Shillings, and ten Pounds weight Troy into Sixpences, besides the other Coins which the Master of the Mint was to make out of the same, pursuant to the said Indenture of the Mint; and if the Master should omit so to do, he should forfeit for every such offence twenty Pounds<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> As this penalty was laid wholly upon the Master, whose part was only to deliver clean Silver Plates to the Corporation of Moniers, from which they were to make and mark the Monies, and for which they, by Indenture, were to have nine Pence Halfpenny per Pound weight Troy, and one Penny per Pound more for the better and more exact sizing and making the Money, it was thought fit, at a subsequent period in this Session, to enact (for the more speedy and effectual coining of the said Money into the several species, pursuant to the above Act) that, if the Moneyers, being supplied with sufficient clean Silver Plates by the Master, should refuse or neglect to make and mark the same into Monies of the several species in the said Act directed, at the prices aforesaid, or should not employ so many men and horses as should be sufficient to keep all the ten Mills (when furnished), from time to time, in full work, for twenty hours in each day, it should and might be lawful for the Master to employ as many other persons, and as many horses, and to pay them for performing the said work, as he should think needful;



And it was provided that nothing in the Act should extend, or be construed to extend, to enforce or oblige the melting down, or re-coining, or to prohibit the receiving or paying of Sixpences, being of Sterling Silver, and not being clipt within the innermost ring<sup>1</sup>.

It is scarcely possible to express, in terms sufficiently forcible, the folly which pervades every clause, relating to the Coin, in this Statute, the title of which might with the utmost propriety be changed to "An Act for the Encouragement of Clippers and Counterfeiters." To them a time was given, during which they were certain of a market for as much clipped and counterfeit Money as they could manufacture, which the Receivers-general, &c. were obliged to take, as if it were of full weight; whilst a strong temptation to diminish the Coins was held out to those who had in their possession Money unclipt, by the loose wording of that clause which made them current when punched through, provided they had the *greatest part* of the letters unclipped, and denounced a severe penalty if the Coins so punched should not precisely answer to that description. The consequence which resulted from these improvident clauses was such as might surely have been easily foreseen—a prodigious increase of clipped and counterfeit Money, to the loss, as Burnet says, of above a million<sup>m</sup>.

A plan was proposed by the Lord Keeper Somers, any usage, claim, or contract, or any other matter, which should or might be pretended by the said Moniers, to the contrary notwithstanding. [Stat. 7 and 8 W. III. c. 30, § 47.]

<sup>1</sup> Statute 7 and 8 W. III. Chap. 1.

<sup>m</sup> History of his own Time, vol. II. p. 147.

which, with some little modification, would have prevented the evil; but it was rejected, and the provisions of the Statute above recited were adopted in its stead.

He proposed, "that a Proclamation should be prepared with such secrecy as to be published over all England on the same day, ordering Money to pass only by weight; but that, at the same time, during three or four days after the Proclamation, all persons in every county, that had Money, should bring it in to be told and weighed; and the difference was to be registered, and the Money to be sealed up, to the end of the time given, and then to be restored to the owners; and an assurance was to be given, that this deficiency in weight should be laid before the Parliament, to be supplied another way, and to be allowed to them in the following Taxes. But though the King liked this proposition, yet all the rest of the Council were against it.

"They said, this would stop the circulation of Money, and might occasion tumults in the markets. Those whose Money was to be thus weighed would not believe that the difference, between the tale and the weight, would be allowed them, and so might grow mutinous; therefore they were for leaving this matter to the consideration of the next Parliament. So this proposition was laid aside, which would have saved the Nation above a million of Money. For now, as all people believed, that the Parliament would receive all the clipt Money in its tale, clipping went on, and became more visibly scandalous than ever it had been."<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. II. p. 147.

By an Act, for granting to his Majesty an Aid of four Shillings in the Pound for one Year, for carrying on the War with France, it was provided that it should be lawful for any persons who should be assessed by virtue of the said Act for any Manors, Land, &c. at any time before the 4th day of May 1696, to satisfy and pay to the respective Collectors empowered to receive the first quarterly payment, in clipped Monies, being Sterling Silver, or Silver worse than the Standard, twice, three times, or four times as much as should be assessable for the said quarterly payment for any such Manors, &c.<sup>o</sup>

On the 13th of January complaint was made to the House of the scarcity of Halfpence and Farthings, for some time past, and at that time, and that the Patentees did make the same of base Copper, and refused to deliver out any but for milled and broad unclipped Money, and at ten or fifteen Pounds *per cent.*, and refused to exchange Tin Farthings<sup>p</sup>. The above was referred to a Committee, whose Report will be found under the 5th of April 1696.

A motion which was made upon the 21st of January, for taking into consideration the price of Guineas, was negatived, upon a division<sup>q</sup>. But, on the 8th of the next month, divers Merchants, &c. petitioned the House, and stated, that, by the artifice of Brokers and others, Guineas were advanced to thirty Shillings, and that the Petitioners could not get Money for their goods unless they received them at that rate; though they could not pay them

<sup>o</sup> Statute 7 and 8 W. III. Chap. 5.

<sup>p</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 388.

<sup>q</sup> Id. p. 400.

away, again at the Custom House, or on foreign bills, or other payments, without a loss of three, four, or five *per cent*.

That great quantities of Guineas, and of Gold to be coined into Guineas, were imported from Holland and other parts, which stood the importers in about twenty-two Shillings a-piece; and the broad and milled Money was melted down, and sent over in exchange thereof, at a profit of at least 25 Pounds *per cent*.

On the other hand, several Graziers and others petitioned, on the 13th of that month, against the fall of the price of Guineas, alledging, that for almost twelve months past they had been paid in Guineas at thirty Shillings each, for want of current Silver; and that a sudden fall would disable them from supplying the City of London and parts adjacent.

A third Petition, from several Merchants, &c. stated that the rise of Guineas to thirty Shillings, on account of the badness of the Silver Coins, had raised Gold about 40 *per cent*. in value above the proportion of Gold to Silver in any other part of Europe. On which account great quantities of Gold were brought in, and the Silver Coins carried out, and in consequence the Petitioners were obliged to buy Silver Money with their Guineas at 3, 4, or 5 *per cent*. loss. That four milled Crowns and two weighty Shillings would purchase a Guinea in Holland; on which account the milled Money would be melted down, and carried away as fast as coined.

Another Petition, also from divers Merchants,

<sup>r</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 435.

<sup>s</sup> Id. p. 445.

&c. represented, that through the unsettled price of Guineas they had of late been imposed upon by Bankers and Goldsmiths, to whom they had been compelled to pay them at under twenty-nine Shillings a-piece, or at whatever rate they pleased to take them, although the Petitioners had received them, and must, if they continue to trade, receive, at thirty Shillings a-piece, or else must receive no Money, by reason of the scarcity and badness of the Silver Coins. And therefore they prayed that the price of Guineas might fall gradually <sup>t</sup>.

All these Petitions were severally referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House, to which the Bill to encourage the bringing-in of milled, &c. Monies was committed.

On the 15th of February the House resolved, that no Guineas should pass in any payments, at above the rate of eight-and-twenty Shillings <sup>u</sup>. And they were lowered still further, on the 28th of that month, to twenty-six Shillings <sup>v</sup>.

On this second Resolution was founded a provision, in an Act of that Session, for preventing the further increase of the rate of coined Gold, and the mischiefs which might thence befall the Realm; by which it was enacted, that from and after the 25th of March, 1696, no person should receive, &c. any Guineas at any greater or higher rate than twenty-six Shillings for every Guinea, and so in proportion for Half Guineas, Double Guineas, and five Pound Pieces, on pain of forfeiting, for every offence, double the value of the Gold so received, &c. and also

<sup>t</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 446.

<sup>u</sup> Id. p. 451.

<sup>v</sup> Id. p. 476.

the sum of twenty Pounds; but that nothing in the Act was to extend, or be construed, to compel any person to receive any Guinea or Guineas at the said rate of twenty-six Shillings<sup>x</sup>.

And by a Clause in a subsequent Act of the same Session the current value was still further reduced to twenty-two Shillings, on account of the prejudice which trade had sustained from the uncertain value of coined Gold, which had encouraged certain evil-disposed persons to raise and fall the same, to the great prejudice of the landed men of the Kingdom. The reduction was to take place from and after the tenth day of April 1696<sup>y</sup>.

In this Session an Act was passed for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining Guineas for a certain time.

It recited the provision of the Act for encouraging of Coinage, made in the 18th Charles II., continued in his 25th year, revived in the 1st James II., and continued by an Act of the fourth Session of the last Parliament, by which every person who should bring Bullion of Gold or Silver to the Mint, to be coined, was to receive weight for weight in Standard Coins; and then stated that great quantities of Gold had been lately imported from foreign parts, and, being coined here, had (on occasion of the present ill state of the Silver Coins) been accepted by the subjects of the Realm at very high and unusual rates and prices, tending to the great damage and loss of the publick; the continuance of which practice (unless speedily prevented) would

<sup>x</sup> Statute 7 and 8 W. III. Chap. 10, § 18.

<sup>y</sup> Id. Chap. 19, § 12.

run the Nation vastly in debt to foreigners, for the re-payment whereof the Silver Monies of the Kingdom must inevitably be exhausted, on terms of great disadvantage; therefore, to prevent the further growth of so great an evil, it was enacted, that from and after the 2d of March 1695, until the 1st of January following, there should not be any obligation to receive into His Majesty's Mints, to be coined, any Gold whatsoever, nor should any of the Officers of His Majesty's Mints be obliged to coin any Gold within the time aforesaid for any person whatsoever<sup>\*</sup>.

That the Duties upon Wine, &c. levyable and payable by the Act for encouraging of Coinage should be applied entirely towards the encouragement of the Silver Coinage during the said time.

That nevertheless it should be lawful for the Royal African Company of England to bring to the Tower of London to be coined, during the said time, the Gold by them imported; the Husband of the said Company first making oath before the

<sup>\*</sup> This provision will appear to have been highly necessary, from an account which was delivered to the Committee of the whole House of Commons, in February 1695-6, by Mr. Neale, the Master of the Mint. He stated, that from Lady Day immediately preceding 721,800 Guineas had been coined in the Tower of London for divers persons; amongst which were,

Peter Floyer..... 139,752 Guineas.

John Mously..... 3

Royal African Company.... 21,389

Lord Lucas..... 115

Countess of Northampton..... 21

Sir Francis Child..... 41,819

Richard Howe..... 18,181

[Commons Journals, vol. XI. pp. 447 and 453.]

Warden, Comptroller, or Master Worker of the Mint, that the said Gold was by the Company imported in return for goods sent to Africa, and on no other account: which Gold should be received by the Officers of the Mint, and coined into Half Guineas, in like manner as before the Act.

And as the importation of Guineas, or Half Guineas, might prove prejudicial to the Kingdom, at that juncture, it was therefore forbidden, on any pretence whatsoever, upon pain of forfeiture<sup>a</sup>.

In order to furnish the Mint with a supply of Bullion, an Act was passed, intituled "An Act to encourage the bringing Plate into the Mint to be coined, and for the further remedying the ill State of the Coin of the Kingdom;" by which it was enacted, that all persons who should bring wrought Plate, &c. to the Mint to be coined, should receive six Pence an Ounce as a reward.

And to prevent the waste of Silver, in wrought Plate, it was further enacted, that after the fourth of May 1696, no person keeping any inn, tavern, alehouse, or victualling-house, or selling wine, ale, &c. by retail, should publickly use, or expose to be used in the house, any wrought or manufactured Plate whatsoever, or any utensil or vessel thereof (except Spoons), under the penalty of forfeiture of the same, or the full value thereof.

And as the difficulty of being provided with fit tools and instruments was thought to be the greatest security against counterfeiting the new intended Coins, it was further enacted, that if any person or persons whatsoever (other than the Officers of his

<sup>a</sup> Statute 7 and 8 W. III. Chap. 13.



Majesty's Mint) who had, or should have, in his or their possession before the first of March 1695, any Press that might be made use of for Coinage, would bring the same to the Officers of the Mint in the Tower of London on or before the third day of May 1696, every such person should receive the full value which the said Press first cost, and the charge of carriage; and if at any time after the said third day of May, any Press for Coinage should be found in the custody of any person whatsoever (other than the Officers of his Majesty's Mint), such Press should be seized for his Majesty's use; and the person, in whose custody it was found, should forfeit the sum of five hundred Pounds.

And it was further enacted, that no molten Silver or Bullion should be shipped, after the last day of March 1696, without a Certificate from the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, that oath had been made by the owners thereof, and likewise by two or more credible witnesses, that the same was foreign Bullion, and not, before it was molten, the Coin of the Realm, nor Clippings thereof, nor Plate wrought within the Kingdom; and that any Bullion, shipped without such certificate, should be seized and forfeited, and that the owners should forfeit likewise double the value of such Bullion, and the captain or master of the ship who should knowingly permit the same to be shipped, should forfeit two hundred Pounds. In case of such seizure, the proof whether such Bullion were foreign to lie on the owner thereof.

That the Act should not extend to prohibit the exportation of Bullion licensed by his Majesty, provided the same should be exported before the last

day of January 1696, and not exceed in value ~~£~~.200,000, to be applied to the payment of his Majesty's Forces.

And to the end the subject, after so great a contribution and charge for making good the deficiency of clipt Money, should not remain under any part of the mischiefs which the currency of such Money would occasion, it was further enacted, that whoever should, after the fourth day of May 1696, receive any such clipt Money, otherwise than according to the Act for remedying the ill State of the Coin of the Kingdom, as if it were lawful Money, should forfeit double the value of the Silver so received.

And as the uncertain value of coined Gold had been highly prejudicial to trade, and an encouragement to certain evil disposed persons to raise and fall the same, to the great prejudice of the landed men of the Kingdom, it was therefore enacted, that, after the tenth of April 1696, no person should utter or receive the Guinea at any higher or greater rate or value than two and twenty Shillings, and so proportionably for every greater or lesser piece of coined Gold, and that whoever should offend therein should incur the penalties and forfeitures of the Statute made in the same Parliament chapter 10. § 18.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Statute 7 and 8 W. III. chap. 19. Whilst the Bill was in its progress through the Commons the following amendments were offered, but not received:

1st. That no person shall keep a flatting mill, but what shall be appointed, in some publick place, by the Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company.

2d. That any Receiver General may receive, by way of loan to his Majesty, any sum of clipped Money, and give a certificate for the same; upon delivery of which into the Exchequer, such

It was afterwards found to be expedient to modify the first clause in that Statute, and to enact that, after the fourth of May 1696, and before the fourth of November next following, proof should be made at the time of bringing wrought Plate to the Mint, by the oath either of the owner, or of some other credible person, before the Master of the Mint or his Deputy, that such Plate was actually, before the 25th of March 1696, wrought plate, vessel, or manufacture, otherwise the person bringing it to the Mint should not be entitled to the reward of Sixpence per ounce. And if any person should, in order to obtain the reward, bring into the Mint Plate wrought after that time, then the same should be forfeited to any person who should sue for the same<sup>c</sup>.

The Parliament met on the 20th of October, when the King in his speech first noticed the difficulties which had arisen upon the recoinage of the Money, and suggested the propriety of considering whether there did not still remain some inconveniences relating to the Coin, which ought to be remedied<sup>d</sup>.

The Committee of the whole House, to which it was referred to consider that part of his Majesty's

person shall have a tally struck for the sum so lent, with interest.

3d. That the Act shall not extend to two presses, used only for the stamping of pewter, at Wigan in Lancashire, so as the same be set and used in some publick place. [Commons Journals, vol. XI. page 525.]

<sup>c</sup> Statute 7 and 8 W. III. chap. 31. From the original printed copy. It is not in the Statutes at Large.

<sup>d</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. page 566.

speech which related to the Coin, reported their Resolutions upon the 28th, on which was founded the Act of this Session for remedying the ill state of the Coin.

The price of Guineas being reduced nearly to the standard, and several persons being desirous to coin Gold, and also to import great quantities of Guineas and Half-Guineas, which would be beneficial to the trade and commerce of the Kingdom, the Act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining Guineas was repealed, and the Officers of the Mint were ordered, on or before the 10th of November 1696, to prepare and set apart one or more Mill or Mills, &c. &c. to be in the first place employed in the coinage of Gold, which should be brought thither by any person, native or foreigner, according to the Statute of the 18th of Charles II. <sup>e</sup>

This Act was passed in consequence of an application from some Merchants to the Lords Justices, the King then being abroad, for leave to coin at the Mint, at their own expense, certain quantities of Gold which they could not then with convenience export<sup>f</sup>. This Petition was granted for a limited time; but it seems to have taught their Lordships that a profit was to be made by the Coinage of Gold, which was accordingly authorized by the above Statute.

Another Act for the further remedying the ill state of the Coin of the Kingdom was also passed.

It stated, that great mischiefs and inconveniences had fallen upon this Kingdom by the frequent coun-

<sup>e</sup> Statute 8 W. III. chap. 1. By the title of an Act for importing and coining Guineas and Half-Guineas.

<sup>f</sup> Folkes, page 128.

counterfeiting, clipping, and other unlawful diminishing the current Coin of the Kingdom, for the remedying whereof for the future, it was thought necessary that all the hammered Silver Coin of the Kingdom should be re-coined by the mill and press, which would be the less subject to those pernicious and destructive methods of clipping and counterfeiting; and that in the mean time, to put a stop to the further clipping such hammered Money, the same should not be current in payment, otherwise than according to the provisions of the Act; for the encouragement, therefore, of all persons to bring in their hammered Silver Money to his Majesty's Mints to be re-coined, it was enacted, that all such hammered Silver Money, clipped or unclipped, as should be brought in, after the 14th day of November 1696, and before the 1st day of July 1697, to any of his Majesty's Mints, should be there received, by his Majesty's Officers, at the rate of five Shillings and four Pence per ounce troy.

That all such hammered Silver Coins should be taken by all his Majesty's Receivers, &c. in discharge of any aids, taxes, &c. at any time between the 14th day of November 1696, and the 1st day of February next ensuing, as to loans, and all arrears of aids, taxes, or revenues due before the said 1st of February, and as to all future taxes, &c. to the 1st day of June next ensuing, at the rate of five Shillings and eight Pence the ounce.

That from and after the 1st day of December 1696, no hammered Coin should be current in any payment whatsoever, otherwise than by weight, after the rate of five Shillings and two Pence for every ounce.

That all the hammered Money brought into the Exchequer should be melted down, and delivered into his Majesty's Mint or Mints, to be there reduced to sterling, and coined by the mill and press into the lawful Coins of the realm, and that all the Money, received at five Shillings and eight Pence an ounce, on account of taxes, &c., should be carried to the next adjacent Mint, in order to be re-coined, and that it should not be brought into the Exchequer until it had been re-coined <sup>g</sup>.

By an Act which granted an aid to his Majesty, as well by a land-tax, as by several subsidies, and other duties payable for one year, it was amongst other things enacted (to the end that the hammered Silver, which by the preceding Act was to be current after the 1st day of December 1696, by weight only, at five Shillings and two Pence an ounce, might be current in all payments at that rate) that from and after the 1st day of February 1696, the tender of all such hammered Silver Money (except in such payments where the same was by the said Act directed to be received at a greater value) at the rate of five Shillings and two Pence for every ounce, should be a good and sufficient tender, and the refusal thereof should be adjudged the refusal of the lawful Coins of the realm <sup>h</sup>.

That his Majesty might be enabled to pay as well the above-mentioned allowance of five Shillings and four Pence an ounce, as the deficiencies of the loans made or to be made in hammered Monies, occasioned by the re-coining thereof, and also the allowance for

<sup>g</sup> Statute 8 W. III. chap. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Statute 8 and 9 W. III. chap. 6.

the encouragement of those who should bring in wrought plate to be coined, and for bearing the waste and charges of coining the said hammered Money and plate, several duties were granted upon papers, vellum, and parchment, for two years, from the 1st of March 1696.

The same Act contained several regulations for the due receiving the hammered Silver Money at his Majesty's Mints, and for satisfying the owners thereof according to the rates established in the former Act<sup>i</sup>.

It seems, however, that the plate was not brought into the Mint so readily as was expected, or as the necessity of the State required, which made it necessary to pass another Act for the better encouragement of such persons as had or should have any kind of wrought plate, to bring the same to be coined into the lawful Coins of the realm; to the end that the species of Money might be increased, for the advantage of commerce, and other public affairs.

By that Statute it was enacted, that whoever should bring wrought Plate to be coined, between the first day of January 1696, and the fourth of November 1697, should receive for the same at the rate of five Shillings and four Pence for every ounce; and that the Master and Worker of his Majesty's Mints, and all other persons authorized to receive the same, should take, as sterling Silver, all such wrought plate as should plainly appear to have thereupon the mark commonly used at the Goldsmiths' Hall, besides the workman's mark, and reckon it at the price above-mentioned, without tarrying till it should be melted and assayed. And

<sup>i</sup> Statute 8 and 9 W. III. chap. 7.

in case the plate should not have the said marks thereupon, that then it should be at the choice of the owner thereof, either to have the quantity of sterling Silver contained therein (according to which the said rate was to be allowed) determined by the Master of the Mint, or by any other person authorized to receive the same, who should declare the said quantity of sterling Silver upon his oath<sup>k</sup>, according to his best skill and judgment; or if the said owner should not be willing that the Master of the Mint, &c. should so determine, or should forthwith, after such determination made, declare him or herself injured thereby, that then the said plate should be forthwith melted and assayed, and allowance be made, after the said rate of five Shillings and four Pence an ounce, for the sterling Silver which should be found therein.

That the names of the owners, and the weight and value of their plate, should be entered in books for that purpose; and that the plate should be carried every seven days to the nearest Mint.

That the Master of every Mint should, once in fourteen days, affix, in some publick place, a particular account of the plate brought in to be coined, of how much had been actually coined, and of the quantity then remaining in the Mint, on pain of forfeiting twenty Pounds.

That all the wrought plate, with the proper marks thereon, should be received as sterling Silver without any deduction for solder, unless for such as should be in any hollow part of the said plate.

And whereas it might reasonably be suspected,

<sup>k</sup> This oath the Act required them to take before they intermeddled in receiving any plate.



that part of the Silver Coins of the realm had been, by persons regarding their own private gain more than the publick good, molten and converted into vessels of Silver or other manufactured plate, which crime had been the more easily perpetrated by them, in regard the Goldsmiths or others, Workers of Plate, by the former Laws and Statutes of the realm, were not obliged to make their plate of finer Silver than the sterling or standard, ordained for the Monies of the realm : It was therefore enacted, that from and after the five and twentieth day of March 1697, no Silver plate should be made of less fineness than that of eleven ounces and ten pennyweights of fine Silver in every pound troy, and that no Silver vessels, &c., &c. made after that time, should be put to sale until such vessels, &c. should be marked, except Silver wire, or such things as, in respect of their smallness, were incapable of receiving a mark. That the marks should be that of the Worker, to be expressed by the two first letters of his surname, the marks of the mystery or craft of the Goldsmiths, which instead of the leopard's head and the lion, should be for this plate the figure of a lion's head erased, and the figure of a woman, commonly called Britannia, and a distinct variable mark to be used by the Warden of the said mystery, to denote the year in which such plate was made ; and that those marks should be affixed on pain of forfeiture of all Silver vessels, &c. that should be exposed to sale, &c. without them.

And if any Goldsmith, &c. should, after the said five and twentieth day of March, make any Silver vessels, &c. contrary to the Act, and the same should

be allowed for good by the Wardens or Masters of the said mystery, or by others employed for them, and if in the same should be found any falsehood or deceit, then the said Wardens, &c. should forfeit the value of the plate so deceitfully marked.

The Act further provided, that it should be lawful for any person to pay the Collectors of the aids and land-tax, &c. in wrought plate, having the hall mark, at the rate of five Shillings and four Pence the ounce, at any time before the 1st day of June 1697.

And it enacted, that all such hammered Money as was made current in payments at the rate of five Shillings and two Pence an ounce, and all such plate as the Act authorized to be received at the rate of five Shillings and four Pence an ounce, that should be brought into his Majesty's Exchequer, should be melted down, and coined into new Money<sup>1</sup>.

On the 6th of April the Committee, to whom the matter of the complaint touching Halfpence and Farthings was referred, on the 13th of January 1695-6, made their report; and the following resolutions, which they had agreed upon, were read.

1st. That upon examination of the complaint made against the Patentees for making Copper Halfpence and Farthings, the Committee are of opinion, that the said Patentees have made the said Farthings and Halfpence of good Copper, according to the direction of their patent.

2d. That they have exchanged and delivered out Copper Halfpence and Farthings, for Gold and current Silver Money, at the common value, without any further recompence.

<sup>1</sup> Statute 8 and 9 W. III. chap. 8.

3d. That they have exchanged £.200 a week of Tin Farthings and Halfpence, for £.200 of the like value in Copper Halfpence and Farthings, pursuant to their said patent.

To these Resolutions the House agreed.

From the evidence of Mr. Dockwra, a member of the Copper Company which furnished the Copper, it appeared that the Copper used was English, so fine that it would make wire very nearly as fine as the Swedish Copper. That they had formerly paid £.100 a ton for it, but now £.120.

Mr. Davis, the Roller and Cutter, said, that all the Copper Farthings that are rolled are worth £.120 *per* ton; and that the Copper must be fine, or it will not roll, and cannot say thing to such as are cast; but that the Patentees pay five Pence a pound weight for making either.

Mr. Rotier said, he takes casting of Copper Blanks for Halfpence and Farthings to be the most proper way of making them; for that they can cast much faster than roll; and one pair of dies for casting will last longer than three pair of dies for the roll<sup>m</sup>; and believes the cast Farthings to be as fine, and better coloured Copper, than those that are rolled.

Thomas Pendleton, Book-keeper of the Mint, said, that the Blanks for Farthings cast, and those rolled, are undoubtedly of the same weight and fineness. That for almost a year together, he took notice of, and weighed them, and found that twenty-one Pence of them weighed a pound weight, with

<sup>m</sup> This is on account of the different hardness of the metal; that which is rolled being already condensed by that operation, gives more resistance to the impression of the die.

the Remedy, within a Farthing and a Halfpenny over or under.

Mr. Corbet, Comptroller of the Patent, delivered in an account of profit and loss from June 24, 1694, to November 24, 1695, whereby it appeared they were above £.2,400 out of pocket<sup>n</sup>.

A Proclamation was issued, upon the 17th of April, to enforce the provisions of an Act of the present Parliament, entitled an Act for remedying the ill state of the Coin of this Kingdom; and also another Act of the same Parliament, entitled an Act for granting to his Majesty an aid of four Shillings in the pound; which Acts authorized Receivers, &c. of the Revenue to take clipped Monies; and commanded them to receive the same according to the terms prescribed by the said Acts<sup>o</sup>.

The coinage of the plate, which was brought into the Mint, does not appear to have been sufficiently quick to satisfy the impatience of the owners, for on the 25th of the same month, the Commons resolved to address his Majesty, that one or more mills or presses might be solely employed in coining plate brought in on encouragement of the late Act, to the end that the publick houses might be the sooner supplied with new Money for such plate, as, by the said Statute, was made useless to them<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 548.

<sup>o</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

<sup>p</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. page 564. The following extracts from Mr. Evelyn's Diary, strongly represent the inconveniences which the publick suffered before, and during the progress of, this Coinage.

1694, July 15. Many executed at London for clipping Money, nowdon to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any Money that was worth above halfe the nominal value. Vol. II. p. 43.

On the 25th of June the Lords Justices, his Majesty being then abroad, issued a Proclamation to

1695, Dec. 25. The Parliament wondrous intent on ways to reform the Coin; setting out a Proclamation prohibiting the currency of Half-Crowns, &c. which made much confusion among the people.

1695-6, Jan. 12. Great confusion and distraction by reason of the clipped Money, and the difficulty found in reforming it.

23. They now began to coin new Money. Vol. II. p. 50.

1696, May 13. Money still continuing exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or received, but all was on trust, the Mint not supplying for common necessities. Vol. II. p. 53.

June 11. Want of current Money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets. Guineas lower'd to 22 Shillings, and great sums transported to Holland, where it yields more, with other treasure sent to pay the armies, and nothing considerable coin'd of the new and now only current stamp, cause such a scarcity that tumults are every day fear'd, nobody paying or receiving Money; so imprudent was the late Parliament to condemn the old, tho' clipt and corrupted, till they had provided supplies. To this add the fraud of the Bankers and Goldsmiths, who having gotten immense riches by extortion, keepe up their treasure in expectation of enhancing the value. Duncomb, not long since a mean Goldsmith, having made a purchase of the late Duke of Buckingham's estate \* at neere £.90,000, and reputed to have neere as much in cash. Banks and Lotteries every day set up. Vol. II. p. 54.

July 26. So little Money in the Nation that Exchequer Tallies, of which I had for £.2000 on the best fund in England, the Post Office, nobody would take at 30 per cent. discount.

Aug. 3. The Bank lending the £.200,000 to pay the army in Flanders, that had don nothing against the enemy, had so exhausted the treasure of the nation, that one could not have borrowed Money under 14 or 15 p. c. on Bills, or on Exchequer Tallies under 30 p. cent. Vol. II. p. 56.

[Memoirs illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq. F.R.S. Author of the Sylva, &c. 4to. 2 Vols. London, 1818.]

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\* At Helmsley in Yorkshire.

" And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,  
Slides to a Scrivener or a City Knight."

Pope.

forbid the exportation of Coin, and to require all persons to use their utmost diligence to discover and seize such as should be intended for exportation, offering to them one half of it as a reward<sup>q</sup>.

In the Parliament which was holden at Edinburgh on the 8th of September 1696 it was ordained (in order to remove the difficulty arising to commerce by the deficiency of the weight of the old Fourteen and Seven Shilling Pieces, the most part, if not all, of which, were worn by use and length of time below the legal standard of Coin within the Kingdom of Scotland) that all old Fourteen Shilling pieces, weighing two drops and twenty-seven grains, and the half in proportion, should be received at their then current rate, in all payments whatsoever. And that all such as should be under the said weight should pass in payment at the rate of three Pounds four Shillings the ounce, being a groat for the drop; and that they should be received at the above rate and weight, under the pain of forfeiting double the sum refused. All the inferior pieces under the Seven Shilling Pieces were to pass as formerly.

By the 42d Chapter of the same Statute, the coining of false Money, or the diminishing in any way the proper Money of the Kingdom of Scotland, or any Coin allowed to be current therein, was made punishable with the pains of death, and confiscation of moveables<sup>r</sup>.

1696-7. From a Proclamation bearing date at

<sup>q</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

<sup>r</sup> Scots Acts. Sixth Session first Parliament of King William, chap. XXXVIII. Act anent the old Fourteen Shilling pieces, and their Halfs.

Edinburgh, on the 23d of January, it appears that large quantities of light unmilled English Money were imported into Scotland, to the great prejudice of his Majesty's subjects; it was therefore ordered that such Money should pass only by weight, at four Shillings Scots, or four Pence the drop or dram, making three Pounds four Shillings Scots, or five Shillings four Pence for the ounce. The Silver milled Crown of England to pass in Scotland at three Pounds five Shillings Scots, or five Shillings five Pence sterling<sup>s</sup>.

1697. In the next Session of the English Parliament an Act was passed for the better preventing the counterfeiting the current Coin of the Kingdom.

It began by stating, that notwithstanding the good Laws still in force against the counterfeiting of the Money and Coins of the realm, the said offence did, and was likely to, increase daily, being very much occasioned for want of a due and condign punishment to be inflicted upon such artificers and others, as without any lawful authority did make or use puncheons, stamps, dies, and other engines and instruments which were commonly used, or might be made use of, in and about the coining of Money; it was therefore enacted, that, from and after the 15th day of May 1697, any smith, &c. (except the persons employed in the Mint or other persons duly authorized) who should make or mend any puncheon, or any other tool, for impressing the stamp of any current Coin of Gold or Silver, or for marking or graining the edges thereof, should be on conviction

<sup>s</sup> Flying Post, or the Post Master, No 269, from January 30 to February 2, 1697.

*hint, when there is already taken in to be coined £130,000 from private persons in old Money and how is daily brought in?*

*The Flying Post Feb. 17 to March 2 1696-7 On Saturday night Mr Heath Mayor of the Mint and Dr Isaac Newton the Warden sent to the Captain of the Tower, and seized upon all the Dies, Puncheons, and Tools, and seized what else he had, and placed two Centinels on the door, Notice him - self being in the Country; and Captain Harris is made sole Inspector to the said*

adjudged guilty of high treason, and suffer death accordingly. And that any person who should, without lawful authority, convey out of any of his Majesty's Mints any puncheon, &c. and also any person who should knowingly receive and conceal the same, or should mark the edges of any counterfeit or diminished Coin, with figures like to those on the edges of Money coined in his Majesty's Mint, or should colour or gild, &c. any Coin resembling the current Coin of the Kingdom, should likewise, with their counsellors, procurers, aiders, and abettors, be adjudged guilty of high treason.

It further enacted, that if any puncheon, &c. should be found in the possession of any person not then employed in his Majesty's Mints, nor having the same by some lawful authority; it should be lawful for any person to seize the same to be produced in evidence; and that after such puncheon, &c. had been so produced, it should be totally defaced and destroyed, as should also all counterfeit Money after it had been used for the same purpose.

And whereas several mixtures of metals had been invented in imitation of Gold and Silver, and blanchd Copper was principally made use of in imitation of Silver, and seldom, if ever, for any honest or good purpose, it was therefore further enacted, that if any person should, after the said 15th day of May, blanch Copper for sale, or mix blanchd Copper with Silver, or knowingly buy or sell, or offer to sale, blanchd Copper alone, or mixed with Silver, or any malleable composition or mixture of metals, which should be heavier than Silver, and look, and touch, and wear like standard Gold, but be manifestly worse than standard, or should receive, or put



off, any counterfeit milled Money, or any milled Money whatsoever unlawfully diminished, and not cut in pieces, at a lower rate than the same by its denomination imported, or was coined or counterfeited for, that then every such person, being convicted, should be deemed guilty of felony, and suffer death as a felon.

Attainders under the Act were not to extend to make corruption of blood, as in other cases of high treason. The Act to continue in force until the end of the next Session of Parliament, and no longer; and no prosecution to be made for any offences against it, unless such prosecution should be commenced within three months after such offence committed<sup>t</sup>.

It was also provided by another Statute, that from and after the 20th of April 1697, the Tellers of the Exchequer should weigh all Monies received by them, in entire sums or otherwise, and make entry of the weight and tale of the same, according to the antient course<sup>u</sup>.

This was doubtless intended to operate as a further check upon the circulation of diminished Coins. Notwithstanding the several Statutes which had been made to encourage the Re-coinage of the hammered Money, considerable quantities of it must still have continued in circulation, for in this Session of Parliament it became necessary to pass an Act to prevent the further currency of any hammered Silver

<sup>t</sup> Stat. 8 and 9 William III. chap. 26.

<sup>u</sup> Statute 8 and 9 William III. chap. 28, § 1, entitled, An Act for the better Observation of the Course antiently used in the Receipt of the Exchequer.

Coin of the Kingdom, and for re-coining such as was then in being.

It first recited the following Statutes: that of 8 and 9 William III. chap. 2, "For the further remedying the ill State of the Coin of the Kingdom;" and also that of the same year, chap. 6, "For granting an Aid to his Majesty, as well by a Land Tax as by several Subsidies, and other Duties payable for one Year;" and then enacted, that, from and after the 10th of January 1697, no hammered Silver Coin of the Kingdom should be esteemed the lawful Coin of the Realm, nor be current in any payment, either by weight or otherwise; and that the tender of it, after that time, should not be deemed a sufficient tender in Law. And it enacted further, that it should be lawful for any person to carry into his Majesty's Mints in the Tower of London, or in the Cities of Bristol, Exeter, Chester, Norwich, and York, before the 1st of March 1697, any old hammered Money to be re-coined; and the respective Master of such Mint, or his Deputy, was authorized and required to receive the same, and to melt it down, and re-coin it into the lawful Coins of the Kingdom, and to pay it back, so re-coined, before the 25th of March 1698, to the several importers, in the manner then used in the Mint in the Tower of London<sup>x</sup>.

On the 8th of April, a Report was brought up from the Committee appointed by the House of

<sup>x</sup> Statute 9 William III. chap. 8. It appears from the public papers that Bank Notes were worse than Specie from 19 to 23 per cent. between the 28th of January and the 30th of March in this year. See the Post Boys for those months.

Commons to enquire into the miscarriages of the Officers of the Mint, which concluded with the following Resolutions:

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the present milled Money, as it is now milled, is subject to be diminished, and to be counterfeited, if not prevented by a Law.

“That undeniable demonstrations have been given and shewn unto this Committee, by Mr. William Challoner, that there is a better, securer, and more effectual way, and with very little charge to his Majesty, to prevent either casting or counterfeiting the milled Money, both Gold and Silver, than is now used in the present Coinage.”

y This Report contains so full and interesting a statement of the situation and circumstances of the Mint at that period, that I have given it at large in the Appendix.

\* Challoner's interference with the affairs of the Mint seems to have drawn upon him the resentment of the Officers, and to have ended in his ruin. On the 18th of February 1697-8, he presented a Petition to the House of Commons, in which he stated, that in the last Session of Parliament he discovered several abuses in the Mint, and shewed by what method false Money was coined: That Laws might be made more effectually to prevent the same; and accordingly several Acts were made for that purpose: And then some persons of the Mint threatened to prosecute the Petitioner, and take away his life, before the next Session of Parliament: And since have committed him to Newgate, on allegation, that he had abused the Mint: And preferred an indictment against him, which they could not prove: And that the Petitioner is utterly ruined, for endeavouring to serve the King and Kingdom, and by his discoveries against the Mint. And praying, that his sufferings, and ruined condition, might be considered and redressed. This Petition was referred to a Committee, with instruction that they have power to send for any information given against the said Challoner, touching his counterfeiting the Coin.

“ That no Officer in the Mint ought to have or enjoy any place in the same for life.

“ That the House be moved, that an humble Address be made to his Majesty, that no grant or patent do pass for life, but *quamdiu se bene gesserit*.

“ That the House be moved for leave to bring in a Bill, or Bills, to prevent the abuses of the Officers of the Mints, and for the better regulation of the

[Commons Journals, vol. XII. p. 119.] I have not found any further proceedings either for him or against him.

His proposals were not entered upon the Journals, but they were printed on a folio half-sheet with this title, “ The Defects in the present Constitution of the Mint, humbly offered to the Consideration of the Honourable House of Commons.”

The principal defect, which he points out, is the want of some person in the Mint skilled in all the parts of Coining, that he may know whether the different workmen perform their parts as they ought. He purposes that such an officer should be added to supervise the whole, assay the Money when coined, and make his Report once every month.

The next defect is the bad workmanship of the Money, which makes it so easily to be counterfeited, that every smith, brasier, founder, tinker, &c. can do it with great speed and secrecy, viz. by casting in sand, or by stamping with a hammer of three pounds weight.

To prevent casting, he proposes that the Money should be milled with a hollow, or groove.

To prevent stamping, that the impress should be so curiously done, that few in the kingdom could do it so well, and rise up so high, that it could not be stamped but with an engine of a ton weight, or by strength of horses.

As a proof that his method would be effectual, he offers to make a Medal that should demonstrably be more beautiful and durable than the Coins, and such as it would be morally impossible to counterfeit. He concludes with saying, that the Officers of the Mint approve of his plan, but say that their present constitution is such as to prevent the adoption of it.

Coinage, both of the Mints in the Tower, and also of the several Mints in the Country."

This Report was ordered to lie upon the Table, and leave was given to bring in a Bill for regulating the Corporation of Moneyers; and that Sir Henry Hobbart, Mr. Lownds, and Mr. Arnold, do prepare and bring in the same <sup>a</sup>.

What further steps were taken for the prevention of the abuses stated in the Report, I have not been able to discover: the Bill above-mentioned never passed into a Law; possibly, because it might be thought to invade the royal prerogative.

On the 6th of May, a Proclamation was issued to enforce an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the further remedying the ill State of the Coin of the Kingdom*; and another Act of the same Session, for granting an Aid of four Shillings; and also another, of the same time, granting an Aid of twelve Pence in the Pound upon land. This Proclamation stated, that Receivers, &c. were backward to collect those Taxes which were entitled to the advantage of being paid in hammered Money, at five Shillings and eight Pence an ounce, until the 1st of June next; and required such Receivers, &c. to be diligent in collecting and receiving, and not to refuse such hammered Monies as they ought to receive pursuant to such Acts, on pain of punishment <sup>b</sup>.

Large quantities of Copper Pieces, coined in the likeness of the Halfpence current by Proclamation in Ireland, were at this time imported into the

<sup>a</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XI. p. 777.

<sup>b</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library.

Northern parts of that kingdom from Scotland, and from other countries beyond the seas; and the Lords Justices and Council were informed that very great numbers of such Pieces, far exceeding the whole quantity of Halfpence which had been coined in Ireland, were lying ready in several parts of Scotland to be imported into Ireland, (having been coined in foreign countries,) with the intention, as it was suspected, of draining the Silver current there in exchange for such counterfeit and base Money; which had already, in great measure, happened in the Northern parts of the kingdom, where little other Coin but such Copper Money was then current, or to be seen.

To prevent those mischiefs, the Lords Justices and Council issued their Proclamation, on the 13th of August, to forbid the importation of such false Money, under pain of being proceeded against according to the utmost strictness and severity of the Law; and all Justices of the Peace, &c. &c. were required to seize all quantities of such Money as should hereafter be imported, and to commit to prison the persons importing them, unless they should find sufficient security to appear at the next Assizes to be held for the County where such importation should be made, there to answer what should be objected against them on his Majesty's behalf<sup>c</sup>.

But another evil respecting the Money of that kingdom was still more grievous, and called for a speedy remedy. Counterfeit Coins of Gold and Silver were in circulation in great quantities, either

<sup>c</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XCVI.

having been made in Ireland or imported from abroad. A great part of these were uttered by persons who bought them up as false and counterfeit Coins, at a lower rate than the intrinsic value of the metal, and afterwards passed them as good and lawful Money. It was therefore ordered by Proclamation, on the 10th of December, that the Laws against Coiners and Utterers of false Money in that kingdom should be strictly enforced; and it was also commanded, that no person should, from that time, buy or sell any counterfeit Money until the same should have been cut in the middle, or so defaced that the same might not be passed again as Coin, under pain of being punished as contemners of that Proclamation, and enemies to the public welfare of the Kingdom, according to the strictness and utmost severity of the Law<sup>d</sup>.

1697-8. By another Proclamation, on the 21st of February in this year, notice was given, that Money-weights, unskilfully made, had been sold and uttered by John Cuthbert, of Dublin, (who, with Henry Paris, was appointed to make the Money-weights in 1683,) and that the Lords Justices and Council had removed and discharged the said John Cuthbert, and also Henry Paris, from making, adjusting, or selling any Money-weights, and had directed that all the Money-weights should be exactly made by Vincent Kidder, of Dublin, Goldsmith, according to the standard lately made in his Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London. Each weight to be stamped with the number of pennyweights on one side, and the King's arms on the other, and to be

<sup>d</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XCVII.

sold at not more than fifteen Pence for all the weights, eight in number, *viz.* the Duccatoon, Half-Duccatoon, whole Plate and Peru Pieces, with the Half and Quarter thereof, a Two-pennyweight, a Pennyweight, and a Half-pennyweight; and that standards of the same should be lodged with the Clerk of the Council, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Receiver General of his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland. And all persons were forbidden to use any other weights, on pain of punishment. And it was further commanded, that no person, except the said Vincent Kidder, should make, adjust, or sell any Moneyweights to be used in that kingdom for the future, on pain of being proceeded against with the utmost severity.

The Coins to pass at standing weight, with the same directions for weighing as in the Proclamation of the 6th of July 1683 <sup>e</sup>.

In an Act for the better preventing the counterfeiting, clipping, and otherwise diminishing the Coin of the Kingdom, it is stated, that whereas the preventing the currency of clipt and unlawfully diminished and counterfeit Money, is a more effectual means to preserve the Coin of this Kingdom entire and pure than the most rigorous Laws for the punishment of such as diminish or counterfeit the same. And whereas, by the known Laws of this Kingdom, no person ought to pay, or knowingly tender in payment, any counterfeit or unlawful diminished Money, and all persons not only may refuse to receive the same, but may, and by antient statutes and ordinances have been required

<sup>e</sup> Simon, Appendix, N° XCVIII.



to, destroy and deface the same; and more especially the Tellers in the Receipt of the Exchequer, by their duty and oath of office, are required to receive no Money but good and true; and to the end the same might be better discerned and known, by the antient course of the said Receipt of the Exchequer, all Money ought to be received there by weight as well as by tale: for the restoring of which course, an Act was made in the last Session of this present Parliament, chapter 28, by which it is enacted that the Tellers shall weigh all Money brought into the Exchequer, but in which no provision is made that they shall refuse to receive the said Money, in case it shall not be of its due weight; and the former and antient Laws being grown into desuetude, whereby unlawfully diminished and counterfeit Money receives a currency, and wicked and traitorous persons are encouraged to diminish and counterfeit the same. Now, to the end the Kingdom, after so vast a charge and expense for the reformation of the Silver Coin, and restoring it to its due weight and purity, may not relapse into the same evil from which it hath been so lately delivered with great difficulty and hazard, and that counterfeit and unlawfully diminished Money, which already begins to increase, may be defaced and destroyed, it is enacted, that it is and shall be lawful to and for any person, to whom any Silver Money shall be tendered, any piece or pieces whereof shall be diminished, otherwise than by reasonable wearing, or that by the stamp, impression, colour, or weight thereof, he shall suspect to be counterfeit, to cut, break, or deface such piece or pieces; and if any piece so cut, &c. shall appear to be counterfeit, the

person tendering the same shall bear the loss thereof; but if the same shall be due weight, and appear to be lawful Money, then the person who cut, &c. the same, shall receive it at the rate it was coined for; and all disputes respecting the same shall be determined by the Mayor, &c. in any City, &c. or in the Country by the next Justice of the Peace, who shall have power to administer an oath, as he shall see convenient, to any person, for determining any questions relating to the said piece.

And it is further enacted, that the Tellers of the Receipt of the Exchequer, and Receivers General of every branch of His Majesty's Revenue, &c. &c. shall cut, &c. every piece of such counterfeit and unlawfully diminished Silver Money as shall be tendered in payment to them for the use of his Majesty; and the better to discover Silver Money that is counterfeit, or unlawfully diminished, from that which is good and true, the Tellers and Receivers General shall weigh, in whole sums or otherwise, all Silver Money by them received; and if the same, or any piece thereof, shall, by the weight or otherwise, appear to be counterfeit or unlawfully diminished, the same shall not be received by or from them in the said Receipt of the Exchequer, nor be allowed them upon their respective accounts.

By this Statute the Act of 8 and 9 William III. chap. 26, was continued until the 25th of March 1701, and from thence to the end of the next Session of Parliament<sup>f</sup>.

1698. The great number of Copper Halfpence and Farthings which had been forced into circula-

<sup>f</sup> Statute 9 and 10 William III. chap. 21.

tion began now to be an intolerable grievance, and Petitions from several parts of the kingdom were presented against them to the Commons. The House referred them to a Committee, which resolved, that, as the Patentees were empowered by their Patent to coin 700 tons in seven years, and that although they had already coined no more than 460 tons, yet there was a great glut of them in various places, that it was their opinion that the execution of the said Patent, both as to making and issuing Copper Halfpence and Farthings, and also for exchanging of Tin Halfpence and Farthings, should be suspended for six months. This Resolution was adopted by the House, on the 12th of May, with the amendment of twelve months instead of six <sup>g</sup>; and an Act was passed to that purpose, with a penalty of five Pounds for every pound avoirdupoise of such Coins as should be made after the 24th of June in this year, and before the 24th of June 1699; and the Patentees were released from their obligation to exchange Tin Halfpence and Farthings, during the same period <sup>h</sup>.

Several Counterfeiters of Money fled, at this time, from the severity of the Laws against false Coiners in England, and took refuge in Ireland, where they

<sup>g</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XII. from p. 136, to p. 267, passim.

<sup>h</sup> Statute 9 and 10 William III. chap. 33. The Patentees petitioned that they might not be prohibited their contract, but might be permitted to fulfil their contract, or might receive compensation for the losses they should sustain. [Commons Journals, vol. XII. p. 621.] But the House doubtless recollected the statement which was made, on the part of the Patentees, on the 13th of January, 1695-6, that they were then above £2,400 out of pocket, and therefore neither stopped the progress of the Bill nor granted them the relief they prayed for.

renewed their old practices, and made and circulated large quantities of base Coins. The Lords Justices and Council, therefore, issued a Proclamation, on the 23d of May, by which all Justices of the Peace, &c. &c. were required to use their utmost endeavours to discover and seize such offenders, and commit them to prison in the Gaols of the respective Counties where they should be taken, and, as soon as possible afterwards, to send notice thereof to the Secretary of the Lords Justices, together with an account of the examinations, and other evidence, against such persons, to the intent that particular care might be taken in their prosecution.

A reward of ten Pounds was likewise promised on conviction of each offender; and if the discovery were made by any person who had himself been guilty of the like offences, he was to have a full pardon, and the same reward likewise<sup>i</sup>.

An Act was passed in this Session for the exporting watches, sword-hilts, and other manufactures of Silver, the preamble of which recited, that by the 7 and 8 William III. chap. 19, no home-wrought Plate could be exported, and that, by the 8 and 9 William III. chap. 8, all wrought Silver was to be eleven ounces ten pennyweights fine, whereby no profit could arise to any person who should export the same, by losing the charge of the fashion in melting down the same, and selling the Silver abroad, which was the principal thing aimed at to be prevented by the first-recited Act. But, on the contrary, a great benefit might accrue to many artificers, and to the kingdom in general, by giving

<sup>i</sup> Simon, Appendix, No XCIX.

liberty to export watches, sword-hilts, wrought Plate, and several other Silver manufactures made within the kingdom, being of the fineness prescribed by the last-recited Act. It was therefore enacted, that, from and after the 24th day of June 1698, it should be lawful to export such of the above-mentioned articles as should be yearly allowed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenue<sup>k</sup>.

On the 10th of January following, a Proclamation was issued to enforce the provisions of this Statute<sup>l</sup>.

On the 22d of September, a Report was given in to the House of Commons by Ph. Meadows, John Locke, John Pollexfen, and Abr. Hill, stating that the value of Gold in Holland and the neighbouring countries was, as near as could be computed upon a medium, as 15 to 1 in Silver. That, according to this value, the currency of the Guinea at 22 Shillings was too high, and occasioned a disproportionate importation of Gold, and an exportation of Silver. That the bringing down the Guineas to 21s. 6d. would make the value of our Gold in Coin very near as  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 in proportion to the rate of our Silver Money; which, though not quite so low as the rate in Holland, &c. they conceived would be sufficient to correct the error.

In consequence of this Report the Commons came to the following Resolution: "That, under the Act 7th and 8th William III. chap. 19, no person is obliged to take Guineas at 22s. a-piece." The price

<sup>k</sup> Statute 9 and 10 William III. chap. 28.

<sup>l</sup> Proclamation. In 1806 in the possession of Mr. Manson, bookseller in Gerrard-street, Soho.

then fell to 21s. 6d. at which rate they were received by the Officers of the Revenue <sup>m</sup>.

1699. In this year the great Re-coinage of the Silver Money was completed, having occupied the greater part of that and of the three preceding years.

“According to the Account of the Officers of the Mint, the new Silver Coin amounted in tale to £.6,882,908. 19s. 7d.

“Of which were coined in the	£.	s.	d.
Tower - - - - -	5,091,121	7	7
“In the Country Mints - -	1,791,787	12	0
<hr/>			
	6,882,908	19	7

“The Mint Charges were £.179,431. 6s.

“And the whole charge and losses are supposed to be not less than £.2,700,000.

“Mr. Lowndes, in his Report, estimated the quantity of worn and Silver Money, then current, at £.4,000,000; and the loss which the publick would incur by re-coining it, according to the old standard, at £.2,000,000.

“It appears above that the actual quantity of Silver Money, either re-coined or made of Plate brought to the Mint, was £.6,882,908. 19s. 7d. If we suppose that only two-thirds of this sum, that is, £.4,588,605. 19s. 8 $\frac{2}{3}$ d., were worn and clipped Coins, which were diminished nearly one half, and received at the Exchequer, in payment of the Publick Revenues, &c. at their nominal value, the loss to the publick, on this account, would amount to

<sup>m</sup> Commons Journals, vol. XII. pp. 511, 514. By mistake, the Resolution is dated on the 16th of June, instead of February.

£.2,294,302. 19s. 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. If, again, we suppose that the remaining third, being £.2,294,302. 19s. 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ d., cost the publick no more than six Pence an ounce, or about 10 *per cent.* this is a further loss of £.229,430. Add to this the charges of Coining, or Mint charges, amounting to £.179,431. 6s., and the three sums make together £.2,703,164. 5s. 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.”<sup>n</sup>

For the greater expedition in this Coinage, and for the more ready dispersion of the Money, when coined, over the kingdom, Mints were established at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York, beside the accustomed Mint in the Tower of London.

By means of these Mints the important work was finished, but, as above stated, at a very considerable expense to the publick. This, together with the infinite loss sustained in trade, by the exorbitant price of Guineas, which bought our commodities, Mr. Leake is of opinion might have been avoided, if the pernicious consequences of it had been considered in time; and that a method similar to that which was adopted by the Parliament in 1647 would have been effectual to bring down the extravagant price of Gold, to preserve a great part of the Silver from being clipped, and to bring the clipped Money to the Mint to be re-coined at a small charge. The loss by such a measure (namely, the prohibiting at

<sup>n</sup> Draft of an intended Report on the State of the Coinage, by the late Lord Liverpool. Mr. Folkes, in his Table of Silver Coins, p. 42, says, “I have always been told, that in a manner all the Silver that came to the Mints, at this time, consisted only of pieces coined between the sixth year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth and the year 1662, when the Coinage by the mill and screw was introduced.”

once the currency of diminished Money and reducing it to Bullion at a certain rate) he thinks would have occasioned the loss to fall chiefly upon those who made a trade of clipping, and who deserved to suffer, and refund some part of their unjust gain; and that, as to small sums in the hands of private persons, the loss would have been nothing, in comparison of the benefit of the Re-coinage; and that by this means many millions might have been saved °.

But, when it is considered how much of that portion which was in the possession of individuals would have been found in the hands of those who could ill sustain the loss of one half of their little property, it is as impossible not to applaud the Government for its beneficent attention to their wants, and for its magnanimity in resolving upon, and carrying into execution, the great measure of a Re-coinage, without laying any burden upon the lower classes of its subjects, although in the midst of an expensive war, as it is not to lament its want of wisdom in continuing to Coin upon the old standard, notwithstanding the increased value of Silver. The arguments of Mr. Locke, and of the few others who supported that mode of procedure, were so unanswerably refuted by their opponents, that the whole influence of the Government was barely sufficient to carry through the House of Commons the various Resolutions by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer drove on his favourite point. Should any one, at this time, doubt on which side the real strength of the arguments lay, it will be necessary only to refer him to the event of that mode of Coinage, and,

° Historical Account of English Money, page 396.



provided he is not determined still to doubt, he will then hesitate no longer. The Re-coinage was completed in 1699, when something short of seven millions of Silver Money were coined; and yet, so early as the seventh year of Queen Anne [1708], it was found necessary to give further encouragement to the Coinage of Silver Money, by offering a premium upon every ounce of foreign Coins, &c. that should be brought to the Mint within a limited time<sup>p</sup>; and, in 1717, not more than eighteen years after the Re-coinage, Sir Isaac Newton said in his Report, "IF SILVER MONEY SHOULD BECOME A LITTLE SCARCER, PEOPLE WOULD IN A LITTLE TIME REFUSE TO MAKE PAYMENTS IN SILVER WITHOUT A PREMIUM."<sup>q</sup>

The want of a circulating medium, occasioned by the withdrawing of the diminished Coins, was for a time severely felt, and various methods were suggested to supply it; which was at last effected, in a great measure, by the issue of Exchequer Bills, in the year 1696, bearing an interest of seven Pounds twelve Shillings a year<sup>r</sup>.

As the alarm respecting the ill state of the Coins was first given from the Pulpit by Mr. Fleetwood, so an anonymous Author thought fit to commemorate the restoration of the Money, in a Sermon from the 30th verse in the 6th chapter of the Prophet Jeremiah<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Statute 7 Anne, chapter XXIV. § 2.

<sup>q</sup> Lord Liverpool's Treatise on the Coins of the Realm, p. 80.

<sup>r</sup> Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History of England, vol. III. page 336.

<sup>s</sup> "Reprobate Silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath rejected them."

In his Discourse he endeavoured, according to the mode of that time, to set forth the spiritual state of the Nation, from the condition of its Money, in a continued succession of parallels. "What the case of this land hath been," says he, "with respect to the debasing of the Coin, almost every one is sensible of, and hath felt more or less. Had it not been timely restored, it might have proved ruin to the Nation. Now this similitude doth so suit the condition of this poor Church and Nation, with respect to our great degeneracy, that, unless something be done for a more effectual remedy, our case must needs be sad indeed."

In this parallel there is nothing objectionable, but some that follow are so strained as to give a turn almost ludicrous to that which the Author, no doubt, intended should bear a serious appearance.

Thus he says, "The dangerous condition in which the land was a while ago on this account [*i. e.* the debasement of the Coins] doth represent to us our danger still with respect to higher corruptions; where it is to be hoped there may be the true stamp still; yet is our spiritual state, like that of the Coin, impaired; the ancient seriousness, piety, and charity, much clipt off; the letters missing by which it was wont to be known; *by this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye love one another*; our divisions have been to us what the shears, and such like instruments, have been to the Money."

And in another place he says, "See that you have the image of God instamped and renewed upon your souls. When the Coin was debased, they melted down the Money that had the right stamp, they corrupted it with the baser metals of Brass and

Iron, and placed a counterfeit stamp upon it; this was our ruin at first. By the Fall, the image of God was lost and defaced, and a contrary image stamped upon the soul. There must be a restoring the King's image again; the debased Coin must be broken with the hammer, melted with the fire, and made susceptible of a new stamp. How admirably doth this set forth the work of grace upon the heart! Jer. xxiii. 29. *Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?* Thou must be broken by the hammer of the Law, and melted down by the Gospel, and the Lord's image must be renewed upon thy soul, Col. iii. 10. *And have put on the new man, which is renewed, after the image of Him that created him.*"

But of this enough. When, however, this anonymous Author gets clear for a moment of his parallels, his remarks become more apposite. Such, for instance, is this passage in which he addresses himself to the Restorers of the Coin, and tells them, "I doubt not, when the heat of men's passions is a little over, the whole Nation will thankfully acknowledge your wisdom and care in the late regulation of the Money; and the more serious part of it will especially take notice of your delivering us from so great a snare, as was the customary putting off bad money to one another, almost at last without reluctance."

But he soon relapses; and prays, "that they may resolve to sit *de die in diem*, as one grand Committee of Religion, till all things are brought to the balance, and reduced to the great standard of the Word."†

† A Sermon on the restoring of the Coins, with reference to

1700. On the 5th of July, in this year, the Board of Trade took into consideration the state of the Coin in the Plantations. A Memorial by Mr. John Fysack was then read, proposing the erection of a Mint in some of the Plantations on the Continent of America, as a means to remedy many inconveniences in the trade of those parts. And he being further heard in what he had to offer, their Lordships, after full consideration of the matter, did not think fit that any Mint should be erected there. But esteeming it generally convenient that all Coins current in the Plantations should pass in all places at one and the same rate, they resolved, in the first convenient opportunity, to consider the difficulties that occur therein, and in what manner it may be best effected<sup>u</sup>; but I do not find that they proceeded any further.

At this time there were such vast quantities of French Gold in the Nation that the whole trade was in a manner carried on with it, although it wanted Sixpence of the true value. The quantity of it occasioned a report that Count Tallard, the French Ambassador, had brought it over, and distributed it to some Members of the House of Commons.

1700-1. The circulation of it was soon, however, checked; for the Council thought fit to make an Order, on the 5th of February, and a Proclamation followed, that the Louis d'Or and Spanish Pis-

the State of the Nation, and of the Church therein. By a Minister of the Church of England. Isa. i. 25. *I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy Tin.* 4to, London, 1697.

<sup>u</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trade, communicated by the late Sir F. M. Eden, bart.

tole should not go for above seventeen shillings ; this brought them to the Mint, and one million four hundred thousand Pounds were coined out of them<sup>x</sup>.

In the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 6th of February, an Act was passed for the appointing Wardens and Assay Masters for assaying wrought Plate in the Cities of York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, and Norwich, in order to relieve the Goldsmiths, &c. from the difficulties and hardships they laboured under in the exercise of their trade, for want of Assayers in convenient places, and to prevent frauds and corruption in their work<sup>y</sup>.

1701. The Act for encouraging of Coinage was continued for seven years, from the 1st of June, this year, and from thence to the end of the first Session of Parliament then next following, to defray the necessary expenses of his Majesty's Mint<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Leake, page 397. The Report mentioned in the text receives some countenance from Burnet, who says, that as soon as the Parliament was opened, it appeared that the French had a great party in it. It is certain that the packet-boat from France seldom came over, during the winter, with less than 10,000 Louis d'Ors, and it often brought more ; the Nation was filled with them ; and in six months time a million of Guineas were coined out of them. The merchants, indeed, said that the balance of trade was then so much turned to our side, that whereas we were wont to carry over a million of our Money in specie, we then sent no Money to France, and had at least half that sum sent over to balance the trade. Yet this did not account for that vast flood of French Gold that was visible amongst us ; and, upon the French Ambassador's going away, a very sensible alteration was found in the Bills of Exchange ; so it was concluded that great remittances were made to him, and that these were distributed among those who resolved to merit a share in that wealth which came over now so copiously, beyond the example of former times. [History of his own Time, vol. II. p. 257.]

<sup>y</sup> Statute 12 and 13 W. III. chap. 4.      <sup>z</sup> Id. chap. 11. § 16.

On the 2d of that month, the Foreign Coins then current in Ireland were reduced, by Proclamation, to the following rates, at which they were to be received in all payments after Friday, the 6th of the same month, *viz.*

## Gold.

	Weight.		Value.		
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The Spanish or French Pistole	4	8	—	0	18 6
The Half in proportion.					

## Silver.

The Duccatoon - - - - -	20	16	—	0	6 0
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					
The Mexico, Sevil, or Pillar Piece of Eight, Cross Dollar, and other Dollars, and the French Lewis - - - - -	17	0	—	0	4 9
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					
The old Peru Piece of Eight -	17	0	—	0	4 6
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					
The Crusadoe of Portugal -	10	20	—	0	3 3
The Half - - - - -	5	10	—	0	1 7 <sup>a</sup>

with the usual allowance of two Pence for every Grain wanting in the weight of the Gold, and three Halfpence for every half pennyweight deficient in any piece of Silver<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Should not this sum be 1s. 7½d.? If it be a mistake, however, Mr. Simon has continued it in the Table of Value in the reign of Queen Anne. [Page 69.]

<sup>b</sup> Simon, Appendix, No C.

“It is thought,” says Simon, “that at this time the Guineas which before passed for twenty-six Shillings, in Ireland, were reduced to twenty-three Shillings, and the Half-Guineas in proportion; the Crown, which passed for five Shillings and ten Pence, or, as some say, for six Shillings, was reduced to five Shillings and five Pence, and the Half-Crown, Shilling, and Sixpence in proportion. But, as I could not find the Proclamation for it, I must give it as I got it, upon common report.”<sup>c</sup>

No Gold was coined in Scotland in the two preceding reigns; but in this year were struck at Edinburgh Pistoles and Half-Pistoles, having the King's head laureat on the one side, and the royal shield crowned, with Scotland in the first and fourth quarters, between the letters w. and r. also crowned, on the reverse. . The style was the same as usual, but it may be noted that there never was upon the Coins of King William struck in Scotland any number put after his name; those who had the direction of that affair being sensible, that although he was the second King of Scotland of his name, and the third of England, he was really the first of that name that was King of Great Britain. Under the head, upon these pieces, was the figure of the rising sun, and they are all said to have been coined of the Gold sent over by the Scottish African Company, from the Colony of Darien in the West Indies, and to have been thus marked in memory of the Rising Sun, a great ship fitted out by those merchants upon that occasion, and in which this Gold was brought home.

All that Mr. Folkes had seen of these Pistoles,

<sup>c</sup> Simon, page 68.

that were in fine preservation, constantly weighed full 106 troy grains; from whence he judged that they were intended to run for £.12 Scottish Money<sup>d</sup>.

1701-2. On the 8th of March King William died, at Kensington Palace.

The style upon all the English Gold and Silver, the Scottish Silver and the Irish Copper, is, before the death of Queen Mary, GULIELMUS ET MARIA DEI GRATIA. MAG. BR. FR. ET HIB. REX ET REGINA<sup>e</sup>. On the English Copper and Tin the Reverse bears BRITANNIA only, with the date.

After the death of his Queen the Roman numerals were added to his name on the English Gold and Silver Money, but the Copper has TERTIUS at length. No numeral distinction whatever appears upon his Scottish Coins, probably for the reason assigned above by Mr. Folkes. In other respects, the style upon the Scottish Gold, and upon the larger pieces of the Silver, is the same as upon the English, but the smaller Silver, and the Copper Coins have on the Reverse NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET.

At the great Re-coinage the initials B. C. E. N. and Y. Y. were placed upon the Obverse, to mark the several Mints of Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York. But the greater part of that Coinage proceeded from the Mint in the Tower of London. The Edinburgh Mint was worked in this reign.

<sup>d</sup> Folkes, p. 152. See Gold Coins, Pl. XIX. Nos. 12 and 13.

<sup>e</sup> Except upon the Scottish Copper, where the Reverse has this motto, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET. The style on the Great Seals was continued as before.



## ANNE.

1701-2. On the death of King William, Anne, the second daughter of King James II. succeeded to the Crown. In the reign of this Queen we enter upon the second splendid period in the Annals of our Mints, for the beauty of her Coinage is exceeded only by the admirable works of Simon, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, and part of the reign of King Charles II. These two lucid points are rendered still more illustrious by the contrast of that thick gloom which almost entirely surrounds them; and through which no ray of genius bursts; but wherever the eye is turned, it is fixed upon darkness visible.

The excellency of our Coins during these two short periods only, shows how much the arts depend upon the good taste and patronage of Princes. Under the government of Charles I. whose superior skill in the fine arts is acknowledged even by his enemies, the works of the Mint attained to considerable beauty; and from the further encouragement which they received from the Rulers of the Commonwealth, and from Cromwell, they arrived at a degree of perfection which was unequalled by the Coins of the neighbouring States.

In the debauched reign of Charles II. they soon began to decline, for that patronage is languid indeed, which is only pleased when merit is brought home to it, but is too indolent to search for genius, and too indiscriminate in its bounty to confine it to merit <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Such is the character which the late Lord Orford gave of the

The short and tempestuous reign of James II. could afford but little encouragement to the arts ; and the genius of William III. directed his attention to glory of a far different kind from that which is to be acquired from their advancement.

Thus the art of Coinage languished, until this glorious reign restored, to a high degree of vigour, those powers which neglect had so greatly debilitated.

The legal provisions respecting the Coins were not numerous in this reign.

In the first Parliament, which was held on her accession, (and which appears from the Statute Book to have been only a continuation of that which began in the 13th year of the late King) an Act was passed for continuing the Statutes of the 8th and 9th of William III. for better preventing the counterfeiting the current Coin of the Kingdom. It extended the time limited by the former Act, to the 25th of March 1709, because the said Act had been found of good use, for suppressing the counterfeiting the current Coins of the Kingdom, by such tools and instruments as were therein prohibited.

It also enlarged the time for commencing prosecution, from three months to six.

And in addition to the places wherein Assay Offices were fixed, by the 12th of William III. the town of Newcastle upon Tyne was appointed, as fully as if it had been expressed in that Act<sup>g</sup>.

patronage of Charles II. in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. III. page 150, and it is drawn with great truth, and the hand of a master.

§ Statute 1 Anne. Statute 1, chap. 9.

1702. On the fourth of May, war was declared against France and Spain, and in October following the town of Vigo, in Gallicia, was taken from the Spaniards, and some of the Gold and Silver found there was coined, with the word vigo under the Queen's bust, to commemorate that event<sup>h</sup>.

These Coins, as well as all others which were struck in this reign, were of the same weight and fineness as those of the late King.

1704. The currency of foreign Money in her Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, was in so unsettled a state, that Coins of the same species were received at different rates in different places, by which means the Money was drained from one Colony to another. In order to obviate this inconvenience, a table was formed, from the Assays made in the Mint, by which the value of the following Coins was ascertained, *viz.*

	Weight.			Value.	
	dwt.	gr.		s.	d.
Sevil Piece of Eight, old Plate	17	12	—	4	6
Ditto, new Plate - - - -	14	0	—	3	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Mexico Piece of Eight - - -	17	12	—	4	6
Pillar Ditto - - - - -	17	12	—	4	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Peru Ditto, old Plate - - -	17	12	nearly,	4	5
Cross Dollars - - - - -	18	0	—	4	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Duccatoons of Flanders - -	20	21	—	5	6
Ecus of Flanders, or Silver Lewis	17	12	—	4	6
Crusadoes of Portugal - - -	11	4	—	2	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Three Gilder Pieces of Holland	20	7	—	5	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Old Rix Dollars of the Empire	18	10	—	4	6

<sup>h</sup> Some of these Coins have the date of this year, 1702, but the greater number was struck in the next year. See Silver Coins, Plate XXXVII. Nos 9, 10, 11, and 12, and Gold Coins, Plate XVI. Nos 17, 18, 19, and 20.

Halves and quarters in proportion, and light pieces according to their weight.

These values being thus ascertained, it was ordained by Proclamation, on the 18th of June 1704, that after the 1st of January next following, no Se-vill, Pillar, or Mexico, Piece of Eight, though of full weight, should be received or paid at above the rate of six Shillings each current Money, for the discharge of any contracts or bargains to be made after the said 1st of January. And that the currency of all Pieces of Eight of Peru, Dollars, and other foreign species of Silver Coin, whether of the same or of baser alloy, should, after that time, stand regulated according to their weight and fineness, in proportion to the rate before limited for the Pieces of Eight of Se-vill, &c. so that no foreign Silver Coin, of any sort, should be permitted to exceed that proportion, upon any account whatsoever<sup>i</sup>.

1705. In this year an Act was passed to empower the Lord High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of the Treasury, to issue out of the Monies arising by the Coinage Duty, any sum not exceeding £.500, over and above the sum of £3,000 yearly, for the uses of the Mint<sup>j</sup>. That sum of £.3,000 was first granted by Statute 18 C. II. cap. 5. for fees, &c. of the Officers, and for repairs of the buildings of the Mint.

1706. By the articles of Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, which were agreed upon on the 22d of July, 1706, and which were to take place on the 1st of May in the following year,

<sup>i</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library. This being found insufficient, was enforced by Statute 6 Anne, chap. 30.

Stat. 4 Anne, cap. 22.

it was agreed, that from and after that day, the Coin should be of the same standard and value, throughout the United Kingdom, as it was at that time in England; and that a Mint should be continued in Scotland, under the same rules as the Mint in England, and the present Officers of the Mint continued, subject to such regulations and alterations as her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, or the Parliament of Great Britain, should think fit<sup>k</sup>.

1707. An alteration was now made in the Royal Arms, on both the English and Scotch Coins. England and Scotland were then impaled in the first and third quarterings, France placed in the second, and Ireland in the fourth.

The losses which private persons might sustain by reducing the Coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the Coin of England, were to be made good out of a fund created by the 15th article of the Union. And by a Statute of the seventh of Anne £.1,200 were to be allowed, out of the Coinage Duty, for the expenses of the Mints of Scotland<sup>l</sup>.

“ In consequence of these regulations, all the old Silver Money was presently called into the Mint, to be re-coined into sterling Money the same as the English, and the Crowns, Half Crowns, Shillings, and Sixpences, which were then struck, bearing date 1707 and 1708, are to be distinguished from those coined in England, only by the letter E, for Edinburgh, stamped upon them under her Majesty's bust.

“ There was upon this occasion brought into the Mint at Edinburgh to be re-coined in the year 1707,

<sup>k</sup> Article XVI. as recited in Statute 5 Anne, chap. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Chapter XXIV. § 3.

of Silver Monies then current in Scotland, over and above what is usually hoarded up and laid by in like cases, what was by the Silversmiths converted into Plate and Bullion, and some thousand Pounds that came in afterwards, the value of £411,117. 10s. 9d.<sup>m</sup> sterling ; as I learn from the excellent and judicious preface prefixed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman to Mr. James Anderson's *Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ*. But all this last mentioned sum was not coined at that time, as the same learned person further informs us ; for the invasion, which happened near the end of the year 1707, made it necessary to issue again for common use a great number of the Forty Shilling Pieces Scottish, and of the other Coins of that sort, that had been brought into the Mint just before. Besides which £.40,000 sterling in English milled Money, that they included in the account, had no occasion to be re-coined ; and this is the reason why the sum formerly mentioned to have been minted at Edinburgh, by the English Moneyers sent from the Tower to instruct those in Scotland in the usages of the English Mint,

<sup>m</sup> Ruddiman gives the particulars of this sum, from the notes of Mr. David Drummond, Treasurer in the Bank of Scotland.

	£.	s.	d.
Foreign Silver Money	132,080	17	0
Milled Scottish Coins	96,856	13	9
Coins struck by the hammer	142,180	0	0
English milled Coin	40,000	0	0
	411,117	10	9

[Introduction to Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*. By Thomas Ruddiman, page 175. This is an anonymous translation of the work quoted in the text.]

was so much less than the sum last said to have been brought into the Mint of Scotland<sup>n</sup>.

The circulation of foreign Coins in her Majesty's Plantations in America, at different values in different places, still continued, notwithstanding the Proclamation against that practice on the 18th of June 1704; and it now became necessary to enforce that Proclamation by the penalty of fine and imprisonment. This was done by a Statute made in this year, which first recited the above-mentioned Proclamation, and then enacted, that whoever, after the first day of May 1709, should take, &c. any of the foreign Silver Coin mentioned in that Proclamation, at higher rates than those thereby regulated, should suffer six months imprisonment, and also pay a fine of ten Pounds, for every such offence. It was, however, provided that nothing in the Act should extend to compel any person to receive any of the said foreign Silver Coins, at the rates fixed by that Proclamation.

Nor was it to extend to restrain her Majesty from regulating the several rates of the said species of foreign Coins, within any of the said Plantations, in such other manner, or according to such other proportions, as her Majesty should judge proper and necessary; or from giving her Royal assent to any Law, hereafter to be made in any of the said Plantations, for settling and ascertaining the current rates of such Coins within the said Plantations<sup>o</sup>.

1708. In this year, the Act for the encourage-

<sup>n</sup> Folkes, page 153. In a note at page 131, the quantity coined in Edinburgh in 1707, or the beginning of 1708, is stated at £320,372 12s.

<sup>o</sup> Statute 6 Anne, chap. 30.

ment of the Coinage was continued for seven years, from the 1st day of March 1708, and until the end of the first Session of Parliament then next following; with these additional provisions.

As an encouragement to the coinage of Silver Money, it was enacted that the Lord High Treasurer, &c. should have power to authorize and require the Master of the Mint to issue, out of the overplus Money arising from the Coinage Duty, a sum not exceeding £.6,000 for the payment of any sum not exceeding two Pence Halfpenny an ounce for every ounce of foreign Coins, and foreign or British wrought plate, of the standard of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, or reduced thereunto, as should be brought into the Mint after the 20th day of April 1709, until the 1st day of December then next following, there to be coined into the current Coins of Great Britain; and the Lord Treasurer, &c. were authorized to issue out of the Exchequer, or dispose of the Monies arising by the Coinage Duty, a sum not exceeding £.1,200 *per annum*, for the fees and salaries of the Officers, and for expenses, &c. of coining in the Mints of Scotland; and also the further sum of £.400 *per annum*, after the 1st day of June 1709, for the charges and expenses of the Officers employed in the prosecution of offences in counterfeiting, diminishing, or otherwise concerning the current Coins of Great Britain, in any part thereof called England <sup>P</sup>.

And by another Act, which was passed in the same Session, the Statute of the first of the Queen <sup>Q</sup>, which continued that of the 9th William III. chapter 2, until the 25th of March 1709, and to the end

<sup>P</sup> Statute 7 Anne, chap. 24.

<sup>Q</sup> Statute 1. chap. 9.



of the first Session of Parliament then next ensuing, to prevent the counterfeiting the current Coin of the Kingdom, was made perpetual<sup>r</sup>.

The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland were under the necessity of issuing a Proclamation, on the 19th of August, to enforce the several Proclamations respecting the weight and currency of foreign Coins in that Kingdom ; by which it was declared, that all those Coins should be current, notwithstanding they might want of the respective weights specified in those Proclamations, two Pence being allowed for each grain of Gold wanting, and three Halfpence for every half pennyweight of Silver deficient in any piece. And that such Coins should be received, if they were standing weight, at the rates ascertained in the aforesaid Proclamations. And if any persons should act contrary to the Proclamation, they should be prosecuted as contemners of her Majesty's prerogative and authority, with the utmost rigour that could by law be inflicted against such offenders<sup>s</sup>.

In this year, after the apprehensions of invasion were at an end, the Forty Shilling Pieces Scotch, and the other Coins of that sort, which had been brought to the Mint at Edinburgh, but which had been issued again from the necessity of that time, were called a second time into the Mint, and re-coined into sterling Money the same as the English.

These Coins were distinguished from those coined in 1707, by a mullet of six points, which was placed after the letter E under the Queen's bust<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Statute 7 Anne, chap. 25.

<sup>s</sup> Simon, Appendix, No CI.

<sup>t</sup> See Silver Coins. Plate XXXVIII. Nos 13, 14, 15, 16.

They are the last Coins which were struck in Scotland ; where, however, they still retain, in many cases, the old manner of accounting by their own Marks, and other Scottish pieces ; but these being now merely nominal, and no such really existing, all their sums of every denomination are esteemed equivalent to the twelfth part of the same sums English, as they indeed were when the two Kingdoms were united by King James the First of Great Britain <sup>u</sup>.

1709. In this year an Irish Statute was passed to the same effect as those which were enacted by the English Parliament, in the 8th and 9th of King William III. to prevent counterfeiting the current Coin of the Kingdom. This was to continue in force until the end of the next Session of Parliament, and no prosecution was to be made for any offence against it, unless commenced within three months <sup>x</sup>.

1712. It having been represented to the Queen, by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, that the original Proclamation under the Great Seal, which gave currency to several foreign Coins in that Kingdom, had been lately destroyed by fire, so that the Clerk of the Council could not make out such a certificate thereof as was required by a late Act of Parliament, for the better conviction of persons who should counterfeit the same, and that there were several foreign Coins in that Kingdom which had not been made current, nor the values thereof ascertained by any former Proclamation ; her Majesty was therefore pleased to command (by her Order in

<sup>u</sup> Folkes, page 155.

<sup>x</sup> Statute 8 Anne, chap. 30. Abridgment of Irish Statutes, page 598. Simon, page 70, calls it an English Statute.

Council, in Great Britain, bearing date on the 17th of July 1712,) that the several species of foreign Gold and Silver Coins, of the weight and values hereafter mentioned, should pass in payment at the several rates respectively specified; and that a Proclamation should be issued to that effect. This was accordingly done on the 30th of that month, when the following species of foreign Coins were ordered to be current, from and after the 12th day of August, at the rates specified below; *viz.*

## Gold.

	Weight.		Value.			
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.	
The Spanish Quadruple Pistole	17	8	—	3	14	0
The Spanish or French Double Pistole	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	16	—	1	17	0
The Spanish or French Pistole	4	8	—	0	18	6
The Half and Quarter in proportion.						
The Moidore of Portugal	-	6	22	—	1	10
The Half and Quarter in proportion.						

## Silver.

The same as in the Proclamation of the 2d of June 1701.

The usual allowance to be made for deficiency of weight, i. e. two Pence for every grain of Gold, and three Halfpence for each half pennyweight of Silver <sup>y</sup>.

It was about this time that Dean Swift delivered to the Lord Treasurer his plan for improving the British Coins. He proposed,

“ 1. That the English Farthings and Halfpence be re-coined upon the Union of the two Nations.

<sup>y</sup> Simon, Appendix, No CII.

“ 2. That they bear devices and inscriptions alluding to all the most remarkable parts of her Majesty's reign.

“ 3. That there be a society established for the finding out of proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices.

“ 4. That no subject, inscription, or device be stamped without the approbation of this society, nor, if it be thought proper, without the authority of Privy Council.

“ By this means, medals that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will be of use in the ordinary commerce of life, and, at the same time, perpetuate the glories of her Majesty's reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for publick services, and excite the emulation of posterity. To these generous purposes nothing can so much contribute as medals of this kind, which are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable by time, nor confined to any certain place ; properties not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other monuments of illustrious actions.”<sup>z</sup>

In a letter to Mrs. Dingley, dated January 4th, 1712-13, he says, the Lord Treasurer has at last fallen in with my project (as he calls it) of coining Halfpence and Farthings with devices, like medals, in honour of the Queen, every year changing the device. I wish it may be done<sup>a</sup>.

The concluding sentence shews that the Dean had but little expectation of its being carried into effect. Indeed nothing more was done than the striking a

<sup>z</sup> Guardian, No 96.

<sup>a</sup> Letters by Dean Swift, &c. vol. I. page 297.

few pattern Farthings and Halfpence. One of the former has Britannia, under a portal, holding an olive branch in her hand ; there is another with Peace in a car, and this inscription: PAX MISSA PER ORBEM ; these are dated in 1713 ; and a third has a female figure standing with an olive branch in her right hand, and a spear in the left, and this legend, BELLO ET PACE 1713. The Halfpenny has a rose and thistle upon the same stalk, on the Reverse, in allusion to the Union <sup>b</sup>.

None of these were ever current, and I have not found that the Dean's project was proceeded with any further ; had it been adopted to its utmost extent, it would have ennobled our Coinage, and have elevated it far above the rank of a mere medium of commerce.

1713. By an Act of this year the legal rate of interest was reduced to five *per cent.* in order to bring it to a nearer proportion to that allowed for Money in foreign states.<sup>c</sup>

1714. On the 24th of July a Proclamation was issued in Dublin, by the Lords Justices and Council, for making current in Ireland several new species of French Coins, at the respective rates hereafter mentioned, *viz.*

#### Gold.

	Weight.		Value.		
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The French Lewis d'Or of the					
new species - - - - -	5	5	—	1	2 0
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					

<sup>b</sup> See Supplement, Part II.

<sup>c</sup> Statute 2, 12 Anne, chap. 16.

## Silver.

	Weight.		Value.		
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The French Lewis of the new species - - - - -	19	15	—	0	5 6
The Half and Quarter in proportion.					

These were to pass at standing weight, and an allowance to be made of two Pence for every grain of Gold, and three Halfpence for every half penny-weight of Silver deficient <sup>d</sup>.

The Queen deceased at Kensington on the 1st of August in this year, and King George the First, then Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, was proclaimed the same day.

Her bust upon the Gold Coins is clothed in the same manner as that upon the Silver, and therefore differs in that respect from the Coinage of her immediate predecessors, William and Mary, James II. and Charles II. A pattern Guinea, dated 1702, has the neck bare; but it is said that her Majesty disliked the appearance of it, and therefore it was not coined for common currency <sup>e</sup>.

Her style is the same as in the last reign <sup>f</sup>.

The only Mints were those of Edinburgh and London.

<sup>d</sup> Simon, p. 69.

<sup>e</sup> See Supplement, Plate VI. No 27.

<sup>f</sup> It was also the same upon the Great Seal until the Union, when it was altered upon the Reverse to BRITANNIA . ANNO . REGNI . ANNÆ . REGINÆ . SEXTO. [Sandford.]

## GEORGE I.

From the commencement of his reign in 1714 to its termination in the year 1727, his Money was of the same species and value as that of Queen Anne; but to his style, upon the Reverse, were added his German titles, with *FIDEI DEFENSOR*, which then for the first time appeared upon the Coins, although it had been constantly used in the style of our Monarchs from Henry VIII. on whom it was conferred by Pope Leo X. in the year 1521; and the Arms of his Majesty's German Dominions were placed on the fourth shield of the Royal Arms.

1715. In the year after his accession, the duties for encouraging the Coinage of Money were continued, for the usual term of seven years, and to the end of the first Session of Parliament next following; and, that the importers of Gold and Silver into the Mints of England and Scotland respectively might not be discouraged by any deficiency of the Revenue settled by the Act for defraying the coinage thereof, it was further enacted, that it should be lawful for the Commissioners of the Treasury, out of the Money arising from the Act, or out of any other publick supplies, to cause so much Money to be applied, as should be necessary for defraying the expenses of the Mints of England and Scotland respectively, provided the same, together with the Coinage Duties arising from the Act, should not exceed in any one year the sum of fifteen thousand Pounds £.

£ Statute 1 George I. stat. 2. chap. XLIII.

1716. His Coins for his German Dominions bore the same figure, titles, and arms as the English, but they had a better impression, more resembling his Majesty, and were of better execution than the English, Brunswick having been long famous both for good workmen and good Money. Some of these Coins bear the date of 1716<sup>h</sup>.

1717. After the troubles which disturbed the early part of this reign were over, the subject of the Copper Money was again taken into consideration, and Halfpence and Farthings were coined in the Tower in the next year. They were lighter than those of King William, the pound avoirdupoise being now coined into twenty-eight Pence, instead of twenty-one. The bars or fillets were delivered in at the Mint at 18*d.* per lb. and about 213½ tons, or £.46,000 sterling, were coined<sup>i</sup>.

In consequence of an Address of the Commons, a Proclamation was issued, on the 22d of December, which stated that the value of Gold, compared with the value of Silver, in the current Coins, was greater in proportion in England, than in the neighbouring nations; which overvaluing had been the great cause of carrying out and lessening the species of the Silver Coins. It was therefore ordained that no person whatsoever should utter or receive any of the pieces of Gold Coin of England, commonly called

<sup>h</sup> Leake, page 419.

<sup>i</sup> Snelling's Copper Coin, p. 43, quoting Leake, p. 415, who states the number of Pence into which the pound was then coined at no more than twenty-three.

The Copper Coins of 1717 and 1718 are remarkably small and thick, and are frequently called by the name of dumps. [Snelling as above.]



Guineas (which in the Mint were coined only at twenty Shillings, but had been current at twenty-one Shillings and Sixpence) at any greater or higher rate or value than twenty-one Shillings, and so proportionably for larger or smaller pieces. This was intended to bring them nearer to their value in Silver Bullion, which was stated by Sir Isaac Newton to be 20s. 8*d.*<sup>j</sup>

The antient Gold Coins of the Kingdom, which might be diminished in their weight by wearing, were, by the same Proclamation, ordained to be received at the following rates, *viz.*

The piece which was current at 23*s.* 6*d.* at 23*s.* and no more.

The piece which was current at 25*s.* 6*d.* at 25*s.* and no more<sup>k</sup>.

1717-18. There is reason to conclude that this reduction of the Gold Coins had not, from the very beginning, the effect which was expected from it<sup>l</sup>. For so early as the 23d of January following, the

<sup>j</sup> See his representation of the state of the Gold and Silver Coins, to the Lords of the Treasury.

<sup>k</sup> Proclamation in the Royal Library. This differs from all the former Proclamations respecting the value of Guineas, which only declared at what rate they should be current, but did not oblige any persons to take them at that value.

<sup>l</sup> Indeed the effect is stated to have been directly contrary to this expectation; and that this was occasioned partly by the hoarding of Silver, in the hope that it would be raised, and partly by fear that the Gold would still be lowered. In order to remedy the evil, the Commons, as soon as they met, resolved, That this House will not alter the standard of the Gold and Silver Coins of this Kingdom in fineness, weight, and denomination. The Lords came to the same resolution, and ordered a Bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of Silver Coin. [Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. IV. part 2. p. 554.] This Bill, if it were ever brought in, did not pass into an Act.

House of Lords, in a grand Committee, took into consideration the state of the Nation, in relation to Gold and Silver Coins. The Lord Bingley having represented the great prejudice that trade received from the scarcity of Silver, said, amongst other things, it was matter of wonder a remedy had not seasonably been applied to so great an evil, which visibly had been growing for so many months past.

Lord Stanhope answered him, that the scarcity of Silver was owing to several causes: 1st. The increasing luxury in relation to Silver Plate. 2d. To the vast exports of Bullion and Plate to the East Indies. And 3d. To the clandestine trade that had lately been carried on, of exporting Silver and Gold to and from Holland, Germany, and other parts. To prove these particulars, his Lordship produced several papers, and, amongst the rest, a scheme drawn up by Henry Martin, Esquire, Inspector General of the Exports and Imports at the Custom House; whereby it appeared that in the year 1717, the East India Company had exported near three million ounces of Silver, which far exceeding the Imports of the Bullion in that year, it necessarily followed that vast quantities of Silver Specie must have been melted down, both to make up the export, and to supply the Silversmith.

His Lordship added, that it was impossible for those in the Administration to remedy this evil, without the interposition of Parliament; and as for the trade of exporting Silver, and importing Gold in lieu of it, which increased the scarcity of the first, the most effectual method to prevent it had been already used, *viz.* the lowering the price of Gold, which would not have failed to produce in great

measure the desired effect, but for the covetousness of some, and the maliciousness of others, who thought by hoarding up Silver, either to make some considerable gains, or to distress the Government, &c.

It cannot be denied that the scarcity of Silver proceeded from the three causes assigned ; but it may well be doubted whether it could turn to account to hoard up the Silver to make a gain by it, for whilst it lay dead, more would soon be lost by interest than could be gained by the difference in price ; and it is not probable that any individual would be so much his own enemy, as to hoard it, at a certain loss, merely out of malice to distress the Government. Had it been considered, that, after reducing the Guinea to twenty-one Shillings, England still gave  $15\frac{1}{8}\frac{4}{8}\frac{2}{8}\frac{9}{8}\frac{5}{8}$  lb. of Silver for 1 lb. of Gold, whereas in Holland and France the proportion of Silver to Gold was but as  $14\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, it would have been found that the sending out Silver still turned to account, and therefore no wonder it was exported <sup>m</sup>.

1718. In this year was coined a new species of Money, called a Quarter Guinea ; being the fourth part of a Guinea in value, and bearing the same impression <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Further explanations of some particular subjects contained in the Universal Merchant. By N. M. [i. e. Nicholas Magens,] page 11.

<sup>n</sup> Leake, page 414. See Gold Coins, Plate XVII. No 17. These pieces were coined immediately after the reduction of the Guinea, and therefore, no doubt, were intended to help the great scarcity of Silver at that time ; but there being no more than 210 lb. weight of them coined, or £.37,380, and the first time of this sort of Money's being minted, they were mostly laid up as soon as delivered, and by that means the design frustrated. [Snelling's Gold Coin, p. 32. note (n.)]

On the 5th of May a Proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, which recited the Proclamation of the 30th of July 1712 for regulating the rates at which foreign Coins should be current, and also another Proclamation, dated July 24, 1714, by which several species of French Coins were ordered to be current in that Kingdom, and, for the more effectual enforcing of the provisions contained in them, ordained, that no Gold or Silver Money should be paid without weighing the same, and making such allowances for any deficiency of weight as in the said Proclamations was set forth<sup>o</sup>.

An Irish Statute of this year, also made perpetual a former Statute of the 8th of Anne, chapter 45, to prevent the counterfeiting of the Coins<sup>p</sup>.

1719. By an English Act of this year the old standard of Silver Plate was restored, that part of the Statute of the 8th and 9th of William III. which raised it from eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, to eleven ounces ten pennyweights fine, being repealed. This was to take place from and after the 1st day of June 1720; after which day no Goldsmith could be compelled to make Silver Plate of the new standard of eleven ounces ten pennyweights fine, nor was he to work or make any of less fineness than eleven ounces two pennyweights fine. At the same time a duty of Sixpence per ounce was imposed on all Silver Plate which should be imported into, or made in, Great Britain<sup>q</sup>.

1722. In his 9th year the Act for the encouragement of Coinage was continued for seven years

<sup>o</sup> Simon, Appendix, No CIV.

<sup>p</sup> Irish Statutes 4 Geo. I. chap. 9. § 5.

<sup>q</sup> Statute 6 Geo. I. chap. 11.

from the 1st of March 1723, with the same provisions respecting the Coins, as were contained in the Statute of the year 1715, for that purpose<sup>r</sup>.

The want of small Money in Ireland was now grown to such an height, that considerable manufacturers were obliged to pay their men with tallies or tokens in cards, signed upon the back, to be afterwards exchanged for Money; and counterfeit Coins, called Raps, were in common use, made of such bad metal, that what passed for a Halfpenny was not worth half a Farthing<sup>s</sup>.

In order to supply this want of small Money, his Majesty was pleased to grant a patent to William Wood, esq. for the coining and uttering Copper Halfpence and Farthings in that Kingdom.

This privilege was for the term of fourteen years, and the quantity to be coined was limited to 360 tons; 100 of which only to be issued within one year, and twenty tons annually for the remaining 13 years; under the inspection of a Comptroller appointed by the Crown, to inspect, control, and assay the Copper, as well not coined as coined. The metal to be fine British Copper, cast into bars or fillets, which when heated red hot would spread thin under the hammer. Every pound weight to be coined into two Shillings and Sixpence, and, without any compulsion, or currency enforced, to be received by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same. A rent of £.800 *per annum* was reserved to the King, and £.200 to be paid annually by the patentee to the King's Clerk Comptroller<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Statute 9 Geo. I. chap. 19.

<sup>s</sup> Report of the Committee of Privy Council, Whitehall, July 24, 1724. *Hibernian Patriot*, page 44.

<sup>t</sup> Report, pp. 27, 39.

Notwithstanding these restrictions, this measure was extremely unpopular in Ireland, and the prejudices of the people against it were at length worked up to such a pitch, by artful misrepresentations, that the patentee was compelled to abandon the greater part of the advantage to which he was entitled by the terms of his patent, and soon after entirely to resign it.

Dean Swift, who was then just beginning to attain popularity in Dublin, from the publication of his proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, attacked the patent from both the pulpit and the press.

1724. His Sermon (for only one is extant, though he is supposed to have delivered two on the subject)<sup>u</sup> was from this text, *As we have therefore opportunity let us do good unto all men*; and its purport was to show the great want of public spirit in Ireland, and to enforce the necessity of practising that virtue. So long as he confined himself to a general view of the subject, there was nothing objectionable in the discourse, but the moment he alluded to that which was professedly the occasion of his address, all that followed was compounded of mis-statement, exaggeration, and falsehood.

<sup>u</sup> He mentions a Sermon, which he thought it his duty to preach to the people under his inspection on the subject of Wood's Coin, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton, dated Oct. 26, 1724. In the 18th volume of his Works, page 628, is the following note upon this Sermon, which is printed in the 15th volume; he is represented as having jocularly said, that he never preached but twice in his life, and then they were not Sermons, but Pamphlets. Being asked upon what subject? he replied, they were against Wood's Halfpence. Pilkington, vol. I. p. 56.

“ I confess,” said he, “ it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse you on this subject, to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public spirit, when all you have is at stake ; to prefer the interest of your Prince, and your fellow subjects, before that of one destructive imposter, and a few of his adherents.

“ Perhaps it may be thought, by some, that this way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit ; but surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great Kingdom one large poor house, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make this Country a desart for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure ill-designing projector, and his followers ; it is time for the pastor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for his infinite goodness in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions ; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the Nation”.<sup>x</sup>

Honest men, who are accustomed to make known by their words the real sentiments of their minds, will scarcely believe me, when I assure them that this dreadful description, when stripped of its exaggerations, meant no more than this, that Ireland

<sup>x</sup> Swift's Works, 8vo. vol. XV. p. 289.

would sustain a loss of something more than £.80,000 in fourteen years (not £.6,000 each year) provided Wood should coin the whole quantity allowed by his patent, according to the lightest of those Halfpence which he had sent over into Ireland; and they will probably be still less inclined to credit me when I assert, that what Swift uttered so seriously, and upon so solemn an occasion, he himself could not believe. The truth seems to have been, that, in this Sermon, and in his *Drapiers Letters*, he brought to the test of experiment an impudent and unprincipled assertion of his, that were he permitted to write whatever he pleased, he would engage to write down any Government in a few months.

That the loss to Ireland would not have exceeded what I have stated above, will appear from a table drawn up by Mr. Simon, from several parcels of the Halfpence which at different times were sent over to Ireland by Mr. Wood.

y Amongst other misrepresentations, intended to cast a ridicule upon Wood's character, Swift calls him a mean ordinary man, a hardware dealer, when, in fact, it appears that he was a great proprietor and renter of iron works in England, had a lease of all the mines on the crown lands in 39 counties, was proprietor of several Copper works, and carried on, to a very considerable amount, manufactures for the different preparations of these metals. [Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. I. page 216.]

*Ruding has not mentioned where Wood coined his Halfpence, but it is recorded in a Newspaper of the time*

*"Mr Wood, who some time ago obtained a Patent for coining Halfpence to be current in the Kingdom of Ireland, carries on The Coinage thereof at Bristol, where great quantities have been already stamped"*  
*London Journal Sat<sup>d</sup> Aug. 24. 1723.*



These Halfpence are by him divided into four classes, according to their respective weights.

	Weight.	Number in a lb.		Current value.		
		Integers.	Decimals.	d.	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.	Decimals.
The first sort - - - -	120	58	28	29	0	33
The second sort - - - -	111	63	6	31	1	6
The third sort - - - -	103	67	96	33	1	96
The fourth sort - - - -	196	72	91	36	0	91
The mean proportion -	107 5	65	11	32	1	11

	Quantity coined.	Intrinsic value.	Current value.			Loss to the public.		
	tons.	£.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
If the first sort had been coined -	360	40,320	97,994	8	0	57,674	8	0
If the second sort	—	—	105,940	16	0	65,620	16	0
If the third sort	—	—	114,172	16	0	73,852	16	0
If the fourth sort	—	—	122,488	16	0	82,168	16	0
If in the mean proportion - -	—	—	109,384	16	0	69,064	16	0
If according to the Patent - -	—	—	100,800	0	0	60,480	0	0

Thus, says Mr. Simon, the publick would have lost, at a medium, sixty-nine thousand and sixty-four Pounds sixteen Shillings; and even had Mr. Wood made his Halfpence of the weight limited by the patent, yet the loss to Ireland would have amounted to sixty thousand four hundred and eighty Pounds<sup>z</sup>.

In this statement, however, it is observable, that Simon has omitted to specify what proportion the lightest Halfpence bore in number to those which were heavier, and also that he has not given the weight which was required by the patent. Had the latter particular been stated, it would have appeared, that some of the Coins actually exceeded in weight the terms of the patent; and had he examined the Report of the Assay of these Coins, which was drawn

<sup>z</sup> Simon, page 71.

up by Sir Isaac Newton, &c. he would have learned that although the Coins were unequally sized, yet one piece with another they were of full weight, and better Copper Money than had been coined for Ireland in the reigns of Charles. II. James II. and William and Mary <sup>a</sup>.

Of these facts Swift could not be ignorant, and therefore it is impossible he could believe that the circulation of such Coins could be prejudicial to the Kingdom. Such, however, was the effect produced by his harangue, and by the specious reasoning in his first Drapier's Letter, upon the passions of the ignorant of all ranks, that Addresses against this Money, as ruinous to Ireland, were presented to the King, by the Lords and Commons of that Kingdom, and by the Lords Justices and Council, and Petitions from the City and County of Dublin <sup>b</sup>.

The Grand Jury of the County of the City of Dublin being actuated by the same spirit, presented in Michaelmas Term 1724, as enemies to the Government, all such persons as had attempted, *or should endeavour* <sup>c</sup> by fraud or otherwise, to impose Wood's Halfpence upon them, contrary to his

<sup>a</sup> Report. Hibernian Patriot, p. 245.

<sup>b</sup> Hibernian Patriot, p. 29. "Every numerous assembly is *mob*, let the individuals who compose it be what they will. Mere reason and good sense are never to be talked to a mob; their passions, their sentiments, their senses, and their seeming interests, are alone to be applied to." [Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son.] On this principle Swift wrote, and his writings were, in the instance before us, eminently successful. But the triumph attending such success is short-lived, whilst the infamy of it is eternal.

<sup>c</sup> Did not the Grand Jury step a little beyond the limits of their duty when they presented *possible, but not existing* offenders?

Majesty's most gracious intentions, who had been pleased to leave his loyal subjects at liberty to take or refuse them. They stated, as a reason for this presentment, that great quantities of Wood's Money had been brought into the Port of Dublin, and lodged in several houses in that City, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely amongst his Majesty's subjects, notwithstanding the Addresses, &c. against them <sup>d</sup>.

In his Majesty's Answer to the Address from the House of Lords, he expressed his concern that his granting the Patent for coining Halfpence and Farthings, agreeably to the practice of his Royal Predecessors, had given so much uneasiness to that House; and declared, that if any abuses had been committed by the Patentee, his Majesty would give the necessary orders for inquiring into and punishing the same, and would do every thing in his power for the satisfaction of his people <sup>e</sup>.

In consequence of the above Addresses, &c. a Committee of the Lords of the Privy Council of England was appointed to investigate the matter, and accordingly a Report was made by them upon the 24th of July.

From their Report it appeared that, notwithstanding repeated orders from his Majesty, no papers nor persons, which might be necessary to support the objections against the Patent could ever be obtained from Ireland; but that all evidence was withheld, upon the frivolous pretence of apprehension of the ill temper any miscarriage, in a trial upon *scire*

<sup>d</sup> Presentment. Swift's Works, vol. X. p. 162.

<sup>e</sup> Hibernian Patriot, p. 6.

*facias*, brought against the Patentee, might occasion to both Houses, if the evidence were not laid as full before a Jury as it was before them.

That from trials and assays of Wood's Copper Money, made by Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scrope, it appeared that, although the Coins were not exactly sized, yet that taken together they exceeded the weight required by the Patent. That the Copper was of the same goodness and value with that which was coined for England; and that the Halfpence and Farthings coined by Mr. Wood exceeded in weight and fineness those which had been coined for Ireland in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and William and Mary.

That the charge of notorious frauds and deceits committed by the Patentee, in executing the powers granted to him; had never been proved, although his Majesty had required evidence to be sent from Ireland for that purpose.

That the terms of the Patent, which his Majesty had granted by virtue of his undoubted prerogative, and in conformity with the examples of his Predecessors, were more advantageous to the publick than any former Patent had been; from the nature of the covenants comprized in it, which required the Coins to be more weighty, and of better metal, limited the quantity to be issued, and likewise restricted the issuing to a shorter term than usual, and, more especially, did not compel any person to take the said Money against his will.

That the charge brought against Mr. Wood, that he had obtained his Patent in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by gross misrepresentations of the state of the Kingdom of Ireland with

respect to the great want of small change, was not true; for upon inquiring into these facts it had appeared, that the Petition of Mr. Wood for obtaining that Coinage was presented to his Majesty with several other petitions and applications for the same purpose, from sundry persons well acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, all of whom set forth the great want of small Money in all the common and lower parts of traffick and business throughout that kingdom; and that the Petition was carried through all the usual forms and offices, without haste or precipitation.

That upon a more particular inquiry into this charge of misrepresentation, the want of small change, in Ireland, was still further proved by the testimony of several witnesses, produced by Mr. Wood; and evidence was given, that several considerable manufacturers had been obliged to give tallies or tokens in cards to their workmen, for want of small Money, signed upon the back, to be afterwards exchanged for larger Money; that a premium was often given to obtain small Money for necessary occasions; and several letters from Ireland to correspondents in England were read, complaining of the want of Copper Money, and expressing the great demand there was for this Money; and that, in consequence of the necessity for small change, counterfeit Coins of base metal, called Raps, had obtained a currency, though what passed for an Halfpenny was not worth half a Farthing.

That the conduct of the superior Officers of his Majesty's Revenue, in giving orders to the inferior Officers not to receive Mr. Wood's Money, in contradiction to his Majesty's command contained in

Mr. Wood's Patent, if they acted upon their own authority, must be considered as a very extraordinary proceeding <sup>f</sup>.

That Mr. Wood having voluntarily proposed to limit his Coinage to £.40,000, the Committee recommended to his Majesty to accept such proposal, and to give the proper orders that he should not coin, import into Ireland, utter or dispose of any more Copper Halfpence and Farthings, than to the amount of that sum; and that his proposal should be transmitted to his Majesty's Chief Governor, &c. in Ireland, in order to consider, whether, after the reduction of 360 tons of Copper, being in value £.100,800, to 142 tons 17 hundred 16 pounds, being in value £.40,000 only, any thing could be done for the further satisfaction of the people of Ireland <sup>g</sup>.

Accordingly his Majesty was pleased to direct in Council, on the 18th of August, that the Halfpence and Farthings already coined by Mr. Wood, amounting to about £.17,000, and as much more as would make up the sum of £.40,000, should be permitted to be current, pursuant to the terms of the Patent <sup>h</sup>.

But these concessions were of no avail; Swift attacked the Report with sophistries and mistatements, which were well calculated to mislead minds already prejudiced against the measure; and when a Proclamation was issued offering £.300 reward for the

<sup>f</sup> It is probable that these Officers acted in consequence of orders, or at least intimations, from higher powers, as the Commons in their second Address petitioned his Majesty to give directions to the Officers of his Revenue not to receive or utter, on any pretence whatsoever, any of Wood's Money. [Hibernian Patriot, p. 44.]

<sup>g</sup> Report. Hibernian Patriot, p. 29.

<sup>h</sup> Leake, p. 418.

discovery of the author of the Drapier's fourth Letter, and a bill of indictment was preparing against the printer of it, he [Swift] published "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury," in which, by similar modes of arguing, he called upon them not to find the bill. A copy of this pamphlet was distributed, on the evening before the trial, to every person on the Grand Jury; and thus, by the very means which Swift himself had so strongly reprobated when used by the Committee of the Privy Council, namely, by prejudging the case, he accomplished his purpose, and the bill was not found. From this time he was considered as the Saviour of Ireland<sup>i</sup>; and Wood was ridiculed in ballads, executed in effigy, and at last obliged to resign his Patent, as Mr. Leake expresses himself, *for the satisfaction of the Parliament of Ireland*<sup>k</sup>. Afterwards, as an indemnification

<sup>i</sup> When a reward was offered for the discovery of the Author of the Drapier's Fourth Letter, a note was sent to Swift with the following text from 1 Samuel, chap. xiv. ver. 45: "And the people said unto Saul, shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid. As the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he wrought with God this day. So the people rescued Jonathan that he died not." It was said to be written by a Quaker. [Swift's Works, vol. XV. p. 251.]

<sup>k</sup> Historical Account of English Money, p. 419. It is probable that the plan which Swift suggested to the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, of drawing up a declaration that they would not receive any of Wood's Money, and forbidding their tenants to receive it, was the principal cause which induced Wood to resign his Patent. [See the second and third of the Drapier's Letters.] The Lord Chancellor Middleton seems to have been an enemy to Wood's project. [See Swift's Letter addressed to him, which is usually printed as the sixth of the Drapier's Letters, although it is signed J. S.] In an Address to his Lordship, which is prefixed to "Some Reasons shewing the Necessity the

for the loss he had sustained, he received pensions to the amount of £.3,000 a year for eight years<sup>1</sup>.

Thus ended this memorable contest, which seems to have originated in the dissatisfaction of the Irish on their not being allowed a Mint in their own Country<sup>m</sup>, of which Swift complains in many parts of his writings, but more particularly in the 19th number of the *Intelligencer*, where he says, "I can see no reasons why we alone of all nations are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention; only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial Kingdom since Nimrod which ever wanted power to coin their own Money."<sup>n</sup>

About the time that Wood's Patent was granted for Money to be current in Ireland, a new species of Coins was struck for the use of the British Colonies in America. They were made of a mixed metal resembling Brass, and were of three sizes; one nearly as broad as an Half-Crown, another about the size of an English Halfpenny, and a third about the size of a Farthing; all bearing the same stamp, *viz.* on the Obverse his Majesty's head, like the Guinea. The largest piece had this legend, GEORGIUS D. G. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET HIB. REX; the smaller pieces had the inscription abridged to GEORGIUS DEI

People of Ireland are under for continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage," he is complimented as having found out the secret of making the Patriot and Minister agree in the same person. [*Hibernian Patriot*, p. 199.]

<sup>1</sup> Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. I. p. 217.

<sup>m</sup> They repeatedly petitioned for a Mint during the reign of Charles I. and the Protectorate of Cromwell, but without effect.

<sup>n</sup> Swift's *Works*, 8vo, vol. XI. p. 33. This number of the *Intelligencer* was published at the beginning of the reign of George II.



**GRATIA REX.** All of them had on the Reverse a large double rose, with **ROSA AMERICANA 1722** and **UTILE DULCI.** Others, with the date 1723, had the rose crowned °.

The Author of "A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland in their unanimous Refusal of Mr. Wood's Copper Money," says that this also was a project of Wood's; who, according to him, "obtained a Patent for coining small Money for the English Plantations, in pursuance of which, he had the conscience to make thirteen Shillings out of a pound of Brass. This Money was rejected in a manner not so decent as that of Ireland; but Wood has never called it popular fury, and we hear nothing of the Patent itself." <sup>p</sup>

1725. On the 22d of January the new Gold Coins of Portugal were made current in Ireland by

° Leake, p. 419. See Supplement, Part II.

<sup>p</sup> Page 37. Snelling says, "We have also been informed that Kingsmill Eyres, Esq. Mr. Marsland, a hardwareman in Cornhill, and several others, were concerned in the scheme; the last-mentioned person had great quantities of them in his cellar, was ruined by it, and died housekeeper at Gresham College; the dies were engraved by Mr. Lammas, Mr. Standbroke, and Mr. Harold, some of which were in the possession of Mr. Winthorpe, who went to New York, his father lies buried at Beckingham. They were struck at the French Change, in Hog Lane, Seven Dials, by an engine that raised, and let fall, an heavy weight upon them when made hot, which is the most expeditious way of striking Bath Metal, of which they were made." [Snelling's View of the Coins struck for the West India Colonies, p. 39.] It appears that, at some time in this reign, a Rupee was struck at Bombay, but the date of the transaction is not known, as the Coin is without date, and I have not been able to meet with any Record that mentions it. See a representation of it in Suppl. Part II. Plate VI. No 14.

a Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and were commanded to be accepted in all payments and receipts at the following rates :

## Gold.

	Weight.		Value.		
	dwt.	gr.	£.	s.	d.
The new Gold Coin of Portugal	18	9	— 4	0	0
The Half Ditto - - - - -	9	5	— 2	0	0
The Quarter Ditto - - - - -	4	15	— 1	0	0
The Half Quarter Ditto - - -	2	8	— 0	10	0
The Sixteenth Ditto - - - - -	1	3	— 0	5	0

With the allowance of two Pence for every grain which should be wanting of these respective weights <sup>a</sup>.

1727. His Majesty died at Osnaburgh on the 11th of June; but the news not reaching England before the afternoon of the 14th of that month, his successor was not proclaimed until the next day.

The style was so materially altered upon his Coins that I shall give it at length. On the Guineas which were struck in his first year it was GEORGIUS D. G. M. BR. FR. ET. HIB. REX. F. D. BRUN. ET. LUN. DUX. S. R. I. A. TH. ET. PR. EL. 1714. That is, Georgius, Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor; Brunswic: et Luneburgen: Dux; Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Thesaurarius, et Princeps Elector. The letters P. R. do not appear upon his Silver Coins of that date, nor were they continued upon the Gold which was afterwards coined <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Simon's Irish Coins, Appendix, No CVI.

<sup>r</sup> The style, however, upon his Great Seal was always the same as that upon the first Guineas. [Sandford.]

The fourth shield on the Reverse is charged with the arms of the Electoral Dominions.

Specimens of the German Coins are given in the Plates of the second Supplement.

The Mints used were that in the Tower of London, and those in the German Dominions.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.





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